THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# LEAGUE

Made at

# CAMBRAY,

LORD ADAM GORDON

BETWEEN

Pope *Julius* the *Second*, *Maximilian* the *First*, Emperour of *Germany*, the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, againſt the Republick of *Venice*.

*LONDON:*

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BRITISH MUSEUM

To the Honourable

# Sir *STEPHEN FOX.*

*SIR,*

IT is becauſe I can make no better Return for the many Obligations you have laid upon me, that I take this way to expreſs my Gratitude. When a thankful Heart is deprived of Power and Oportunity to expreſs its Gratitude, the Returns it makes can hardly miſs of being Troubleſome and Officious; and that is my caſe at preſent.

This piece of Hiſtory, I beg leave to Dedicate to You, Sir, falling into my hands about a year and a half ago, and having read it with Pleaſure, I thought ſome of my hours in the Country might be worſe employ'd, than in putting it into *Engliſh*, for the uſe of thoſe who are not well acquainted with the *French* Tongue, but delighted in Hiſtory.

You know very well, Sir, that the Tranſactions and Events of paſt Times, are of mighty uſe towards the regulating and directing the Meaſures of ſucceeding Ages: And this Hiſtory, litle as its bulk is, abounds with variety of Changes and Alterations, as well in the Tempers of Princes, as in the ſeveral and different Intereſts of thoſe States and Kingdoms, that at firſt embarked in the framing of the League it relates, or were afterwards forced or allured into the Proſecution of it.

Should I tread in the common Path of Dedicators, this would be the proper place to entertain you with a Panegyrick, ſuch as I could make, on your excellent Qualities and Endowments; but as *Horace*'s Modeſty kept him, as he ſays, from attempting the Praiſe of *Auguſtus* and *Agrippa*, ſo I, from a Senſe of my Inability, forbear attempting Yours, leſt I ſhould ſully and tarniſh what I vainly fancied I could embelliſh and illuſtrate. And therefore, all I will beg leave to ſay is, that had that Great Hiſtorian, and excellent Judge of Men, the late Earl

of

of *Clarendon*, been writing his Hiſtory now, the Character he juſtly gave you, when you were young, muſt have riſen in proportion to your Years, and the important Services you have done your Prince and Country, in this and the former Reigns.

That Honeſty and Diſcretion, that Induſtry, Modeſty, and Prudence, which were ſo conſpicuous in you then, and to which that Noble Author ſolely aſcribes the good Order and Government of that Exiled Prince's Family; I ſay, all thoſe Virtues and Endowments, which were then but in their bud, tho' equal to the Employments that exerciſed them; by the long practice of them ſince, and the Encreaſe they have received by Experience, muſt have obliged his Lordſhip to enlarge and raiſe your Character, in proportion to the Eminent Services you have done, and the long Experience you have had, in the moſt Important Poſts of this Kingdom.

Were it not for fear of offending your unaffected Modeſty and Goodneſs, I ſhould gratify the ſtrong Inclination I have

have to enlarge upon your Exemplary Piety, your Fervent Devotion, and your Boundleſs Charity: But the Religious Care you have taken of the Poor and Aged, and the laſting Monuments of your Charity which you have, with great Charge erected, ſpeak forth your Piety in that Motto, far beyond what any Tongue or Pen can expreſs: And they are plain Arguments of your Sincere Gratitude to Almighty God, to whoſe Bounty you willingly aſcribe what you juſtly poſſeſs, and diſcreetly enjoy, in this World.

Pardon my Preſumption in ſaying ſo much as I have taken the Liberty to do on this Head, and, in your uſual Goodneſs, impute it meerly to a Senſe of my Obligations, and to an earneſt deſire to teſtify what, with much Reſpect and Sincerity, I am, SIR,

*Your moſt Humble,*

*Moſt Obliged, and*

*Faithful Servant,*

R. F.

# THE

# PREFACE.

IT *is no extraordinary thing to ſee ſeveral* States *combine againſt* one *that is more powerful than* any *or* all *of* them, *either to ſet bounds to its* Greatneſs *or to bring down its* Exorbitant Power; *but it is what very rarely happens, that ſeveral* SOVERAIGNS *ſhould confederate againſt* one State, *leſs powerful than any of them, with a deſign to deſtroy* it. *Alliances of this kind ſeem ſo contrary to all the eſtabliſh'd Rules of Policy, that one would think ſuch Events impoſſible, were there not Inſtances to prove them practicable. The moſt celebrated Example of this Nature, is the League concluded at* Cambray *in the Year* 1508. *Between the* Pope, *the Emperour of* Germany, *and the Kings of* France *and* Arragon, *againſt the Republick of* Venice.

*The Hiſtory of a League, ſo Singular and Remarkable as this is, requires the greateſt Perſpicuity and Exactneſs. It deſerves the utmoſt Curioſity to ſearch into the Motives that induced ſo many Princes to agree in laying aſide thoſe Maxims of State by which they*

*they uſually regulate their Conduct; and to enquire, by what Fatality it was, that all the Conjectures of Wiſe Men at that time about future Events, proved, by what followed, to be no other than ſo much falſe Reaſoning. The Hiſtory of ſuch Events teaches all States and Kingdoms, not to be abſolutely Secure, but to fear Accidents, even where the greateſt Humane Prudence tells them that they cannot poſſibly happen. By all the ordinary Rules of Politicks, the Republick of* Venice *was in full Security, in the Year* 1508. *Its greateſt Forecaſt could perceive nothing but Peace, Tranquility, and Glory, when ſuddenly the Clouds were gathered, and ſuch a Storm form'd againſt it, as by its Firſt Blaſt, ſhook their very Capital City, and in a few Days overthrew all that Grandeur and Reputation, they had been Rearing up for ſeveral Ages.*

*Never had the Republick of* Venice *been ſo Powerful, as it was at that Time; nor were ever their Neighbours, in all Appearance, leſs in a Condition to give them any Alarm or Diſturbance than they were then. The Senate ballanced their Power ſo Evenly, that into which ſoever Scale they threw it, that Side had a mighty Advantage and Superiority: And ſo dextrouſly did they manage Matters with their Neighbours, that the Hatred of one of thoſe got them the Friendſhip and Favour of the other. The only Calamities they had to fear, were ſuch as the greateſt Humane Penetration could not foreſee, nor the beſt Efforts divert, according to the ordinary Courſe of Events. In ſhort, never was any State more Firm and Settled than it ſeem'd to be juſt before its Fall, when all* Europe *with Amaſement ſaw the greateſt Humane Prudence Humbled and Baffled in the Senate of* Venice.

*And yet, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, upon further Reflection, I cannot think, that the League of*

Cambray

Cambray *was ſo miraculous, as at firſt Sight it ſeems to have been. The Ballance of Power, that darling Chimera of ſo many Politicians, which the* Venetians *endeavour'd to eſtabliſh among their Neighbours, with ſo much Exactneſs and Evenneſs, without any Regard to the juſt Rights of Princes, or their own Alliances, did by a certain Counter-blow, really prove the neceſſary Cauſe of the League of* Cambray. *The Friends of the Republick, being weary of its Conduct, conceived a Diſguſt againſt them, as being Allies who little regarded any Ties or Obligations. The Haughtineſs and Covetouſneſs of the* Venetians *had exaſperated their Enemies to ſuch a Degree, as cut of all Hopes of a ſincere Reconciliation by any Treaty. And therefore it was, that both Friends and Enemies uniting in a perfect Averſion againſt them, and that producing a mutual Confidence, they all combin'd the Ruin of that Republick, whoſe Conduct and Practices had given ſo great Diſguſt and Mortification to all the World. Every thing proceeded according to the order of Second Cauſes, and there was nothing Supernatural in all this Event.*

*One thing however may be ſaid to excuſe the* Venetians, *for not foreſeeing that their Conduct would ſometime or other give Ground for an Alliance of this Nature: And that is, that thoſe Sovereign Princes that formed it, could not be thought to go into it, without Acting againſt their greateſt Intereſt; and that ſuch a League as that of* Cambray, *could be no other than the Product of the unbridled Paſſions and Reſentment of the Princes that made it. However plauſible this may be, yet it cannot ſufficiently juſtifie the Senate of* Venice. *Sovereign Princes ſuffer themſelves ſo often to be led blindly by their Paſſions, that it cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that their Honour or Intereſt is always the Rule of their Conduct. It is very likely, that the Republick of* Ve-

nice *would have Settled its Greatneſs upon a more Solid and laſting Foundation, if inſtead of its refined and ſuſpicious Politicks, and weighing too nicely the Ballance of Power, it had applied it ſelf to gain the Friendſhip, and preſerve the Confidence of its Neighbours. But it took the former Courſe; and its Scheme of Politicks often obliged it to do many unjuſtifiable and ill Offices to its Neighbours. By this means, the* Venetians *incenſed all its Neighbouring Powers againſt it; and the overſtretch'd Precautions the Senate uſed brought more Calamity upon them, than ever their Negligence or want of Fore-caſt would have done. Thus the* Venetians, *being left deſtitute of Allies, and incompaſs'd with incenſed Enemies, and diſguſted Friends, the Foundation of their Republick's Safety, which to all appearance was firm and ſolid, ſunk and tumbled down in a Moment.*

*One would have thought, that the Deſign of reaping Advantage by the Wreck of the* Venetian *Trade, which then brought them vaſt Riches from all other Nations, had been the true Motive that induced ſo many Princes, in ſo ſurprizing a manner, to combine the Deſtruction of that Republick. But however ſuch a Bait might perhaps have drawn under the ſame Banners, Nations born and brought up in Inveterate Hatred to each other for many Ages, and which no time was like to unite, yet of all the Princes who Signed the League of* Cambray, *hardly any of them had a Merchant-ſhip, or indeed any Trade or Commerce, in their Dominions: Nor was their any likelyhood of its being ſet up or encourag'd among them. And therefore their Aim muſt have been ſomething elſe, than the carrying the Shred of the* Venetian *Trade into their ſeveral Territories. The Injurious Precautions the* Venetians *uſed to prevent uncertain Dangers appear ſo plainly to be the true Cauſe of*

*the*

*the real Danger they run themſelves into, that we need not look for any other. The fall of their State was ſolely owing to what often happens to refin'd Politicians, that is, Too much Penetration made them Blind.*

*The League of* Cambray *was not fatal to the* Venetians *only; for the Princes who Sign'd it, found cauſe oftner than once to repent that ever they entered into that Confederacy. Endeavouring to be too good Friends, they became Mortal Enemies to one another. The Alliance they then contracted againſt their Eſſential Intereſts; which obliged them never to endeavour the promoting of each others Greatneſs, gave occaſion to thoſe Quarrels and Wars which would never have happened, but for that cloſe Union they ſo inconſiderately made, States and Kingdoms whoſe conſtant Intereſts are Diametrically oppoſite, can never enter into a Cloſe Alliance for any Tranſient Advantage, without expoſing themſelves to Complaints, Diviſions, and Wars.*

*We may juſtly look upon the League of* Cambray *as a piece of modern Hiſtory, abounding with proper and ſeaſonable Leſſons for all Governments; and therefore it ought to be ſet out in its true and full Light. The Fire that was kindled by this League was not ſo quite extinguiſh'd, but that it ſtill Smoak'd, when* Andrew Mocenigo, *of that illuſtrious Family which Shines ſo bright in the* Venetian *Annals, and the Son of a Procurator of St.* Mark, *wrote the Hiſtory of the War of* Cambray *in* Latin. *But* Mocenigo's *Hiſtory, tho' it has had the Honour to be tranſlated into* Italian, *is rather a Collection of Relations than a Methodical Hiſtory. And therefore it is, that this Author in his Firſt Book, ſays, that his Deſign is not to account for the Motives of this War, nor the ſeveral Intereſts of the Princes that made it*

*nor*

*nor the Negotiations that were ſet on Foot to bring it to a Concluſion; but purely to relate the Publick Events that happen'd at that Time.* Mocenigo *was too Young when he Wrote his Hiſtory, to attempt a Task of greater Difficulty. One may however, ſee, that his Reading has been much above his Years; but when he would imitate the Ancients, he does but Counterfeit them; and is not very happy in placing the Phraſes and Turns he Borrows from their Writings.*

*Though this Author diſcovers a great Zeal to ſay all the Good he can of his own Country, and a great Contempt for Strangers, yet in the Relations he gives of Events, he ſhews more Sincerity and Agreements in the ſame Matters, with Authors of other Nations, than any of the latter* Italian *Hiſtorians have done. He Wrote in a Time when the Events he relates were ſtill ſo freſh in Peoples Memories, that it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that one of his Rank would have ventured to Corrupt or Falſify them.*

Machiavel, *Cardinal* Bembo, Guicciardin, Paulus Jovius, Pet. Juſtiniani. J. de Saint Gelais, Martin Belay, *and the other Hiſtorians of the Sixteenth Century, which I have had recourſe to, are ſo well known, that I ſhall not trouble my Reader with a Character either of them or their Works. Their Reputation has been long eſtabliſhed: And therefore when the Reader finds them Quoted in the following Hiſtory, he will know before hand, what Weight and Streſs he is to lay upon what each of them advances. I will ſay nothing of latter Authors, becauſe I have made little Uſe of them. A Writer that Conſults modern Authors, who have Borrowed from the Ancients, if he would be Exact, he ought to have recourſe to the ſame Fountains from whence they have drawn, and not to take any thing upon Truſt without*

out ſufficient Vouchers. Since moſt of the Authorities that Varillas cites are unknown, and, to ſpeak ſo, without Home or Being, I have in my Hiſtory of the League of Cambray, but very ſparingly made Uſe of the pretended Diſcoveries that are to be found in his Hiſtory of Lewis the Twelfth. The innumerable Faults and Eſcapes he is Guilty of againſt known and undeniable Truth, which are ſcattered throughout thoſe New Diſcoveries of his, are enough to make one believe, that Varillas had drawn out of his own teeming Imaginations all the Facts he relates, and all the particular Circumſtances he puts upon the World, concerning the Views and Deſigns of the Perſonages he Treats of, rather than out of true Manuſcripts, and ſufficient Vouchers; which, as he ſays, had till then eſcap'd the narroweſt Search and Enquiry, of the moſt knowing and diligent Writers, and had been reſerved for his Diſcovery.

Of all Varillas's Works, I pretend only at preſent to ſpeak of his Hiſtory of Lewis the Twelfth. In abundance of Places of that Hiſtory, he ſpeaks of the Thirteen Cantons, when he means the Helvetick Republick; not knowing, or not conſidering, that at that Time he would make them Thirteen, there were no more then Ten or Twelve Cantons united into that Body. He diſcovers by his Manuſcripts, that in the Beginning of Lewis the Twelfth's Reign, who came to the Crown in the Year 1498, the Empire of Germany was divided into Ten Circles; though every Body knows, that the Firſt Diviſion of the Empire into Circles was not till the Year 1500, in the Reign of the Emperour Maximilian the Firſt, and that then it was only Divided into Six Circles. The Diviſion of the Empire into Ten Circles was not till Charles the Fifth's Time, many Years after the Death of Lewis the Twelfth. The ſame Author never fails to call the

Dominions

*Dominions of the Low Countries in* Lewis *the Twelfth's time.* The Seventeen Provinces; *though it was long after the Death of that Prince, that thoſe Dominions were compoſed of ſo many Provinces, by the Acquiſitions which* CHARLES *the* FIFTH, *Sovereign of the Low Countries, made of the Provinces of* GUELDE *and* UTRECHT. *He ſays in ſeveral Places of the aboveſaid Hiſtory, that* Alviano, *who from a very low Condition had arrived at the Command of the* Venetian *Army, was of the Family of the* Urſini; *though that General had no other Relation to that Houſe, than that of having been a Scholar in the Military Art to* Virginia Urſini. *Another of* Varillas's *Blunders is, that he calls the Court of* Ferdinand *the* Catholick, *the Court of* Madrid, *inſtead of calling it the Court of* Saragoſſa, *or at leaſt of* Burgos. *He makes a Sea-port of* Marino, *which is a Part of the Eſtate of the Houſe of* Colonna, *Four Leagues from* Rome, *though* Marino *is known to ſtand a great way from the Sea, or indeed any Navigable River. He ſuppoſes that one muſt paſs the* Apenins *to go from the* Milaneze *to* Romagna. *He takes the Matricular Book of the Empire for the Repoſitory of its Charters: Whereas every Body knows, that this Matricula is no other than a Cadaſter, or State of the Publick Contributions of the Empire, firſt Inſtituted by the Emperour* Sigiſmund, *and afterwards reduced into the Form it now is, by the Emperour* Charles *the Fifth; containing the ſeveral Quotas or Contingents, which every Member of the Germanick Body is obliged to Furniſh towards the Publick Charges, and for providing and maintaining the Army of the Empire. Theſe few are a Sample of the innumerable Eſcapes of this Poor Hiſtorian, though agreeable Writer; which may ſerve to render all his New Diſcoveries more than ſuſpected.*

*But*

*But how little uſe ſoever there is to be made of this and ſuch like Authors, yet the great number of able and well informed Hiſtorians, who have writen the Hiſtory of the Times in which the League of* Cambray *was formed, make it no hard matter for a Succeeding Writer to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh what's true from what's otherwiſe; and at the ſame time furniſh him with variety of ſingular and agreeable Circumſtances to embelliſh his Hiſtory; and to entertain his Reader with a great many curious and new things, without trifling. The Law of Nations, the Origine of the Rights, and the reciprocal Claims and Pretenſions of Princes, and the Importance of the Articles of the Treaties that have been made between them, are things which the Hiſtorians have not ventured to clear and unfold. But in this Hiſtory of the League of* Cambray, *no point of the Common Law of Nations that was Eſſential to it has been paſs'd over without explaining, as much as was poſſible for the Author to do. Not many Years ago, there was very luckily publiſhed in ſeveral Parts of* Europe *a great many Collections of Treaties of Peace, and other Original Deeds; which caſt great light upon the Obſcurity and Confuſion in which thoſe points of the Law of Nations had been buried.*

*I have Endeavoured, as much as was poſſible for me, in my Narration, to come up to the Preciſion or Brevity of the leſs Ancient Hiſtorians. This Preciſion conſiſts in giving to the Relations that are made of Events their juſt Extent and Proportion to the Deſign and Title of the Hiſtory. I have been carefull to meaſure the Accounts I give of Events by their Importance with Relation to the Hiſtory of the League of* Cambray, *I have conſtantly kept before my Eyes the Title of my Book, as the Rule I was neceſſarily to go by, calling often to mind,*

*that*

*that I was not Writing the History of* France, *but that of* Italy.

*When one Conſults a great many Hiſtorians, how different and oppoſite do we often find their Accounts. Sometimes therefore I have barely related their different Depoſitions: And ſometimes I have taken upon me to paſs Sentence on them. I have ſometimes given it in Favour of one of them, and have delivered his Account as an uncontеſtible Truth, without mentioning what the reſt have ſaid; but this I have done, not Raſhly but upon ſufficient Ground. At Firſt I had reſolved to account for the Reaſons that determin'd me, but I altered my Mind, when I conſidered that I was Writing a History, and not a Critick upon other Mens Performances.*

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ERRATA.

PAge 11 *l.* 8. *r.* that had. *l.* 11. *for* Italy *r.* that Country. *p.* 33 *l.* 2. *r.* Lodi. *l.* 24 Ghiara. *p.* 54 *l.* 17 *dele*. *p.* 89 *l.* 10 Inveſtee. *p.* 90 *l.* 30 thought it. *p.* 91 *l.* 18 Lou Molino. *p.* 93 *l.* 7. the Subjects. *p.* 100 *l.* 26 *r.* aſſault. 104 *l.* 6. that time.

THE

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THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE League of *Cambray.*

## PART I.

### BOOK I.

NEver did the Republick of *Venice* think its Ruin further off, than when the League of *Cambray* was made in order to overthrow it. From its Firſt Foundation to that time, it had never been in ſo Flouriſhing a Condition as it then was. Except the *Morea*, it Poſſeſſes nothing now but what it had before; but ſince the Time of that League, it has

loſt ſeveral Provinces which were then under its Subjection. *Candy*, in which they have now only ſome few Fortreſſes, was then intirely theirs: And *Cyprus* made a Part of their Dominions. The Five beſt Sea Ports in the Kingdom of *Naples*, on the *Adriatick Sea*, in which the Republick had Garriſons, together with the Maritime Towns of *Romagnia*, that were then in the *Venetians* Hands, gave them the abſolute Command of thoſe Seas; the ſole Sovereignty of which they always had much at Heart. They not only poſſeſs'd all they have now in the Dutchy of *Milan*, but alſo the *Cremoneſe*, and all that Part of the *Milaneſe*, that lies on the left Side of the *Adda*, was United to their other Provinces.

The Fleets which the Republick maintain'd at that Time, made as 'twere one Continent, of all the ſeveral Parts of its Dominions, how diſtant ſoever, or ſeparated from one another by the Sea. Thoſe Fleets were Strong, and well Mann'd. The Arſenal from whence they were fitted out, might juſtly have been reckoned among the Wonders of the World. The Carpenters of that Arſenal had a peculiar Art in Building Ships, which other Nations were Ignorant of. Inſomuch that every thing belonging to Shipping and Navigation was made and performed there in much greater Perfection than any where elſe in the World. The Seamen that Man'd thoſe Ships were the moſt Experienced in *Chriſtendom*. The Crews of the *Venetian* Galleys, being for moſt part *Cyprians*, *Candians*, and *Sclavonians*, were Nervous, and made for Labour, and exceeded even thoſe of the Galleys belonging to the Knight of *Maltha*. What added to the Confidence the *Venetians* had in their Fleets, was, that they had no Enemy to fear but Winds and Storms. The Maritime States of *Italy*, who formerly

formerly had diſputed the Empire of that Sea with the *Venetians*, and fear'd not to Sail to the very Gates of their Capital City, were now fallen into mighty Decay. As yet the *Turks* underſtood nothing of Sea Fights: And the *Mamalukes*, whoſe Empire was declining, and bordering on its Ruin, were now no more formidable on that Element.

To ſuch a Pitch had the flouriſhing Trade of *Venice* arrived, and ſo Extenſive was it at that time, *England* in the *North*, and *Ægypt*, and the *Black Sea*, in the *South* and *Eaſt*, being its Bounds, that from that inexhauſtible Nurſery, Multitudes of ſtrong and experienced Sailors were drawn to Man their Fleets, as Occaſion required. By means of their vaſt Trade, the *Venetians* had added great Wealth and Riches to the Native Plenty of their Country: And immenſe Sums run into their Publick Treaſury from the low and eaſy Duties, that were laid on their Merchandiſe.

Thoſe great Revenues enabled the Government to give their Soldiers greater Pay, and to pay them more punctually than other Princes and States could do: And that was it made the beſt Commanders and Troops court the Service of St. *Mark*. The *Venetian* Light Horſe, compoſed of *Albanians* and other Nations of *Greece*, were the more cry'd up, becauſe they Fought after a New Manner, and becauſe no Enemy had any Cavalry of that kind to ſet againſt them. Their Artillery was the beſt appointed, and their Gendarmery the beſt in all *Italy*. It was the higheſt Ambition of the *Italian* Generals, and they reckon'd it their greater Honour, to command the *Venetian* Army.

Notwithſtanding this vaſt Expence, the Government was not in Debt. If ſome ſmall Part

of the Publick Revenues was Mortaged to private Perſons, it was purely out of a politick Deſign, and not Neceſſity; for there was in the Publick Treaſury enough and above to clear all whenever they would.

Nor was the Publick Rich by Impoveriſhing the Subject, but on the contrary, every one was Rich in Proportion to his Rank and Condition, other Countries, even *France* it ſelf, were Poor in Compariſon of *Italy*; and the richeſt Towns in *Italy* envy'd the Wealth of *Venice*. Silver Plate, which was very rare in *Europe* before the Conqueſt of *Peru* and *Mexico* by the *Spaniards*, was ſo common among the *Venetians*, that their Enemies made it the Subject of their Invectives againſt them. The Luxury and Vanity of the Two laſt Ages have not produc'd more Sumptuous, and Noble Palaces, than the *Venetians* had at that Time; which both for Art and Magnificence, exceeded thoſe of the greateſt Monarchs in thoſe Days. In ſhort, all thoſe Arts which owe their Subſiſtence to the Superfluity of Riches, and which can never thrive but in the midſt of Opulency, did ſhine forth in their greateſt Splendour at *Venice*. Nor was this Magnificence the Effect of the fooliſh Squandering of ſome Prodigals among them: Nor did it (as too often happens) reduce the Rich to the contemptible Neceſſity of ſaying or doing mean and degenerate Things, for Bread to themſelves and Families: But it was the Product of a Diſcreet and Judicious Expence, and of a real and ſolid Opulency, poſſeſs'd by a wiſe People; who never thought of enjoying Riches till once they had heap'd them up, and who could ſhow Frugality in the greateſt Magnificence.

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The Government, if Occaſion required, could have had an abundant and infallible Supply from the Purſes of the People, who paid a profound Veneration to their Superiours, and had an entire, and well grounded Confidence in them. Their Laws were wiſe and good: And the Execution of them was committed to none but Men of known Juſtice, Probity, and Diligence. The Senate, which is the Soul of their Republick, was fill'd with Men eminent for Worth and Ability: And hitherto all their Views and Meaſures had been juſt and honourable, and all their Enterprizes ſucceſsful. Subjects judge of their Superiours according to the value they ſee Foreign Nations put upon them. They think that the Diſtance between thoſe and their Maſters is a more proper Station, from whence they may take a view of them, than from the low Situation in which the Condition of Subjects has placed them. No Government was ever more eſteem'd by Strangers than *Venice* was at that time, as that moſt judicious Hiſtorian *Philip de Commines* particularly witneſſes.

The earneſt Deſire that all Nations have ever expreſs'd to underſtand the Conſtitution of this Republick, exempts thoſe who undertake to write a ſmall Part of its Hiſtory from giving the Reader an account of the Nature of that Government. This Eagerneſs has been the cauſe why ſo many Authors have written concerning the Government of *Venice*, in all Ages, and in all Languages, and have left nothing new for ſucceeding Writers. Their Books are ſo common, and ſo generally known, that it were impertinent to trouble the World with any Abſtract or Repetition of what they have delivered.

*Venice*, in the flouriſhing Condition it then was, had nothing to fear from its Neighbours;

at leaſt it might reaſonably have been believ'd that they had not. No One of them could make war with it, without expoſing himſelf to greater Dangers than what he threaten'd them with. The Neighbouring Princes thought it adviſeable not to diſturb the Peace of a State which they could not attack with any Advantage. But as the *Venetians* ſaw no Appearance, that any one of their Neighbours would venture to be the Aggreſſour, they had leſs reaſon ſtill to believe, that thoſe Neighbours, whoſe eſſential Intereſts were diſtinct and ſeparate, would ever unite to conſpire the ruin of the Republick. The moſt conſiderable of their Neighbouring Princes were, The *Pope*, the Emperour, and the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*.

The *Pope*, *Julius the Second*, ow'd his Advancement to the *Triple Crown* chiefly to the *Venetians*. He was certainly a very reſtleſs Man: And although he was now Sixty Years old, yet never did any Young Prince endeavour more to rob himſelf and his Neighbours of Peace and Quiet than he did. He had long before diſcovered himſelf to be a Man of keen and violent Paſſions; but hitherto his Reaſon and Prudence had kept them under, and obliged his impetuous Humour to yield to his Intereſt, and comply with the Junctures, and State of Affairs. Though for the ſpace of Ten Years it had been no Secret that he aſpir'd to the Pontificate, yet he never gave over, but ſtill ſurmounted all the Rubs and Difficulties which ſecret Rivals know very well to throw in the way of thoſe, who have given ground to think that they have a mind, one Day, to poſſeſs the *Eccleſiaſtical Throne*. Thus one may ſee, what a Man of an inflexible Temper, and ſtubborn Humour, is capable to do. The older Men grow, the more, one would think,

they

they ought to yield to Reaſon. *Julius the Second* being now about the Sixtieth Year of his Age, could not be thought, without going againſt his cleareſt Light, to combine with the Emperour and the Kings of *France* and *Arragon* in a Partition of the *Venetian Dominions*.

It is the chief Qualification of a *Pope*, to fear nothing ſo much as the Emperour's getting footing in *Italy*; their Pretenſions againſt the *Holy See* being boundleſs. For, with their good will, they wou'd reduce His *Holineſs* to the bare Exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Power: And therefore it was, that *Guicciardin*, with good reaſon, ſays, in his Seventh Book, That the Popes ought to be as much upon their guard againſt the *Emperour of Germany* as againſt the *Grand Seignior*, The *Germans* pretend, that their Emperours, not only have a Soveraignty over all the *Eccleſiaſtical Dominions*, but even go ſo far as to diſpute with the *Pope* a *Territorial Superiority*, as they call it, and the *Right of Prerogative*, that is, the *Dominium Utile*, together with a Soveraign Juriſdiction over a great part of the Dominions of the *Roman Church*; eſpecially with regard to that part of them which it poſſeſſes by the Bounty of the Counteſs *Mathilda*: Diſowning the Validity, and even the Authentickneſs of that Princeſs's Donation. Nay ſo far do the *Germans* carry their Pretenſions, as to alledge, that their Emperours ought to reaſſume the Exerciſe of that Authority which the Succeſſours of *Charlemagne* had in *Rome*, in the Inſtallment of Popes. According to the *German Laws*, no Preſcription holds good againſt the Rights of the Empire. 'Tis true, that by the Agreement made between the Emperour *Otho the Third* and *Pope Gregory the Fifth* in the Year Nine Hundred and Ninety Seven, the Contents of which are approv'd in the Bull of the Emperour *Frede-*

*rick the Second*, One Thouſand, Two Hundred, and Nine, an entire Independance on the Imperial Authority, as to Spirituals, is ſecured to the *Church of Rome*. By the Agreement made between *Pope Innocent the Sixth* and the Emperour *Charles the Fourth*, in the Year One Thouſand Three Hundred and Thirty Five, the *Pope* is left at full Freedom as to Temporals: Nay in ſome Senſe, the Imperial Authority is ſubjected to that of the *Roman See*. But all thoſe Acts and Agreements are no ſufficient Barrier againſt the Pretenſions of the *Germans*, when their Emperours have the Sword in their Hand, or have got any footing in *Italy*. Theſe Deeds are liable to various Interpretations, and according to the *German Laws*, of no effect. According to thoſe Laws, it is alledged, that the Emperours, who are choſe to be the Head, but not the Maſter of the *Germanick Body*, can never alienate the Rights of the Imperial Crown, but with, and by the Conſent of that Body: And that no ſuch Conſent can be pleaded in the Caſe of the Agreements abovecited. *Julius the Second* therefore, cou'd not but know the Danger to which he expoſed himſelf and his Succeſſours, if he conſented to the Emperour's getting footing in *Italy*, which the Popes his Predeceſſours had made their chief care and buſineſs to prevent.

*Ferdinand King of Arragon, and the Two Sicily's*, was ſo formidable a Neighbour to the Popes, that no body could ever have believed that they would concur in making a League, by which ſuch an Addition of Power in *Italy* muſt be put in the hands of that Prince: And there was ſtill leſs reaſon to think, that *Julius the Second* would ever have contributed towards the aggrandizing of *Lewis the Twelfth* of *France*. The *Moſt Chriſtian King* was already very powerful in *Italy*, by

by his having the Dominions of *Milan*, and *Genoa*, to ſay nothing of the diſpoſal he then had of the Forces of *Florence*, as Friend and Ally of that Republick. Beſides, it is very well known, that the *Pope* had no kindneſs for that Prince, and that he mortally hated his Chief Miniſter, *George D' Amboiſe*, Cardinal, and *Archbiſhop of Roan*. This Cardinal had been *Julius the Second*'s moſt dangerous Rival in the *Conclave*: And it was pretty plain, that he had made no Vows againſt another Attempt for the *Papal Chair*. In ſhort, the Project for driving the *Barbari* (that is, in the *Italian Style*, *Thoſe beyond the* Alps) out of *Italy*, ſeem'd to be the *Pope*'s darling Deſign: And nothing could obſtruct its Execution more than ſtrengthening them by the Addition of the Wreck of the moſt conſiderable State in *Italy*.

If on the one hand, the *Venetians* had ground to miſtruſt the *King of France*, when they reflected on the trouble they had occaſion'd to him; ſo on the other, the deciſive Reaſons that Prince had to cultivate their Friendſhip, ought to have removed their Jealouſies. *Lewis the Twelfth* very well knew that *Julius the Second* had no good will, either to his Perſon or to his Kingdom: And the Emperour *Maximilian* had been his avow'd Enemy, as often as any Occaſion offer'd of doing injury to *France*. *Maximilian*, the moſt fickle Man alive, ſhew'd Conſtancy in nothing but in his Enmity againſt *France*. The more to inflame his Averſion, he us'd often to read what he call'd his *Red Book*. This Book was an exact Regiſter of all the Mortifications that ever *France* had given him: And he read it with a deſign, as he us'd to ſay, to be even with *France*, whenever Opportunity and Occaſion offer'd. This Regiſter contain'd Seventeen Grievances, moſt part groundleſs; but ſuch as the Emperour, after the way

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of most Princes, who never lay the blame at their own doors, thought heinous Encroachments. The Year before, he had delivered a most bloody Speech, against *Lewis the Twelfth*, in a Diet of the Empire, which was held at *Constance*. The *Venetians* were the only Allies *Lewis* could make use of against his Enemies.

Had the Emperour been in friendship with *France*, yet the Reasons of State would never have allow'd the *Most Christian King* to lend a hand to his Establishment in *Italy*. *Charles of Austria*, Son of *Philip*, *Archduke of Austria*, *Maximilian*'s only Son, known at that time by the Name of *Prince of Spain*, and afterwards Emperour, by the Name of *Charles the Fifth*, was to succeed to the Dominions of his Grandfather. The *Prince of Spain*, as Grandson of *Mary of Burgundy*, Mother of the Archduke *Philip*, was already in possession of what belonged to the *House of Burgundy*. The Succession to the *Crown of Castile* was determin'd to him, upon the Death of his Mother, *Jane Queen of Castile*, and Widow of Archduke *Philip*. It was probable that he would inherit likewise the *Crown of Arragon*, and the Dominions annex'd to it, upon the Death of the *Catholick King*, his Mother's Father. The Prospect of this Young Prince's future Greatness ought to have guarded the *French* against any Project that might but seem to add New Dominions to those he was to inherit. If the *French* should have shar'd the *Venetian Dominions* betwixt themselves and the Emperour, that Part which would have fallen to *Maximilian*, must one day have come to the *Prince of Spain*, who by this means must have block'd up *France* on all sides. Experience had taught *Lewis the Twelfth* what Danger there was in such Partitions. The fatal Consequences of the Treaty he had made with the *King of Arragon*,

for

for conquering and ſharing the Kingdom of *Naples*, were ſtill freſh in his Memory.

The *Venetians* therefore would have thought themſelves injurious to the Prudence of *Lewis the Twelfth*, if they had believed him capable to truſt *Maximilian* ſo far as to combine with him againſt their Republick, the only Soveraign Power they had reaſon to wiſh well to the *French* Intereſt in *Italy*. It was by the Succours the *Venetians* gave them, that the *French* had got footing in *Italy*. 'Tis true, that thoſe Succours were rewarded by the Conceſſion of entire Provinces: And it was that indeed which link'd them cloſe to the Intereſt of *France*. It was evident, that the *Venetians* muſt loſe the New Acquiſitions, if *Maximilian* ſucceeded in his Deſign of reſtoring the *Sforza's* to the Dominion of *Milan*. It is likewiſe true, that the *Venetians* ſeaſonably aſſiſted the *French* ſo ſoon as the *Milaneſe* was threaten'd. *Lewis the Twelfth* knew very well that Reaſons of State would always oblige the *Venetians* to do the ſame thing again, and that thoſe Neighbours of his would find it their Intereſt to be his conſtant Allies. By giving *Maximilian* footing in their Country, they knew that they muſt ſettle a Born Enemy on their Frontiers, with whom they could never hope to have a ſincere and firm Peace.

The Emperour and the *King of Arragon* had been at variance about the Adminiſtration of the Dominions of their common Grandſon, *The Prince of Spain*, during his Minority. This Quarrel had ſo imbittered their Spirits, that there was no room left to fear or hope their uniting together: Nor were there leſs Grounds of Contention and Jealouſy between the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*. *Ferdinand*, after he had divided the Kingdom of *Naples* between *Lewis the Twelfth* and himſelf,

himself, did by successful Fraud and Injustice drive *Lewis* out of his Share. *Ferdinand* had no reason to doubt but that some time or other, the *Most Christian King* would endeavour to do himself justice: And he cou'd not but see, that by assisting *Lewis* to destroy the *Venetian Republick*, he must pave his way into the Kingdom of *Naples*; which Kingdom *Ferdinand*'s Scheme of Politicks obliged him to defend with all his Might against all the Attempts of the *French*.

Of all the Soveraign Princes that sign'd the *League of Cambray*, *Maximilian* was the only one the *Venetians* had ground to suspect. He only had reason to sign that *League*, because that by it he had the means of getting a great deal, without hazarding the Loss of any thing. By sharing the *Venetian Dominions* with other Princes, he acquir'd Territories in *Italy*, where he had none before; and where One Inch of Land is more precious to an *Emperour of Germany*, than whole Provinces in other Countries. The Pretensions of those Emperours in *Italy*, which will always be meerly chimerical, so long as they have no power in that Country, will all become real and substantial Rights, if ever they come to have any Dominions in property on the other side the *Alps*. The *Germans* had often press'd *Maximilian* to make an expedition into *Italy*, to assert the Rights of the Empire: And the Diet had several times granted him Subsidies for that purpose: And he might easily believe, that those Assemblies would never refuse him what Succours and Supplies he demanded for the Execution of a Project that ran so much in their heads as this did.

Besides, *Maximilian* was fully resolved to avenge himself on the *Venetians*, cost what it would. His Old Grounds of Complaint were many, and he had lately received a very sensible Mortification

Mortification from them. It is an Event ſo complicated with the *League of Cambray*, that it may juſtly be made a part of its Hiſtory.

The Year before the Concluſion of the *Treaty of Cambray*, *Maximilian* made mighty Preparations to invade *Italy*, at the Head of a numerous Army. It was raiſed upon a certain Subſidy, which the Diet lately held at *Conſtance* had granted him, upon their Motion for his going to oblige the Feudataries of the Empire in *Italy* to acknowledge their Dependance. The better to cloak his true Deſign, it was given out, that the Emperour meant only to make a journey to *Rome*, to ſatisfie a mighty deſire he had of having the Imperial Crown put upon his Head in that City, and to carry to the *Piſans*, who were grievouſly oppreſs'd by the *Florentines*, the Succours they had long expected. But his true Motive, which was to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome part of *Italy*, where he might the more conveniently aſſert the Rights of the Empire, was ſo well known, that every body ſaw through the Pretence he endeavoured to cover it with.

The firſt thing *Maximilian* did towards the Execution of this vaſt Project, was to demand of the *Venetians* a Neutrality, and free Paſſage for his *German Troops* through their Territories. *Lewis XII.* miſtruſting the Emperour, and knowing him to be the avow'd Protector of the *Sforza's*, firmly believing that he had a deſign upon the Dominions of *Milan*, uſed his utmoſt Art and Application at *Venice* to prevent the Granting of the Emperour's Demands. The Senate ſeeing themſelves ſollicited by theſe Two Princes, aſſembled ſeveral times to conſult and deliberate which of the Two Intereſts they ſhould eſpouſe in ſo critical a Juncture. They laid it down as a thing beyond queſtion, that ſo ſoon as ever the *Germans* entered *Italy*, the War between

between them and the *French* would begin: And therefore preſently concluded, that in ſuch a Caſe a Neutrality could not be obſerved: And as *Guicciardin* expreſſes it, *That the Republick ought not to ſtand with its Arms acroſs till the Deciſion of the Quarrel, and till one or t'other of the two Parties were overthrown. That if the* King of France *were Conquerour, he would never forgive the* Venetians *for granting the* Germans *paſſage through their Country: And if the Emperour had the better of it, he would put no great Value upon a Piece of Complaiſance that went no further than allowing Paſſage for his Troops.*

All thoughts of Neutrality being therefore laid aſide at *Venice*, the only Queſtion now was, which Side they ſhould take, the *French* or the *German*, *Andrew Gritti*, whom we ſhall have Occaſion often to mention in this Hiſtory, by unanſwerable Arguments perſuaded the Senate, that it would be much more for the Intereſt of the Republick, to ſide with *Lewis the Twelfth*, than with *Maximilian*. He told them, That an Emperour, eſpecially One of the Family of *Auſtria*, could not poſſeſs an Inch of Ground in *Italy*, without the Republicks being expoſed to the utmoſt Danger. That they ought always to look on the Power of the Emperours with a jealous Eye, ſince the Princes of the *Houſe of Auſtria* laid Claim to a great Part of the *Venetian Dominions* as a Portion of their Hereditary Countries.

The Senate of *Venice*, knowing now what Game it had to Play, reſolved to refuſe *Maximilian* Paſſage for his Troops, and to perſevere in their Alliance with *France*. 'Tis true, this Denial was accompanied with an Offer of a moſt honourable Reception, for the Emperour's Perſon, provided ſtill he would leave his Troops on

on the Frontiers, and only paſs through their Country with a ſuitable Retinue, but not an Army, in order to his taking (as he ſaid) the Imperial Crown at *Rome*. This Invaſive War, which *Maximilian* had flattered himſelf he would make in *Italy*, vaniſh'd in Smoak. But that he might not ſend Home his Troops without ſome Action, he turn'd thoſe Arms againſt the *Venetians*, which he had deſign'd againſt other Enemies, and Attack'd their Teritories on the Side of *Friuli*. So ſoon as the *French* had Notice of of this, *Jacques Trivulze*, Marſhal of *France*, put himſelf at the Head of a ſmall Army, and marched directly to the Aſſiſtance of their Allies. *Maximilian*'s Attempt proved unſucceſsful: And being ſoon Weary of a War he had inconſiderately begun, he concluded a Truce with his Enemies before the End of the Campaign: And that upon ſuch diſhonourable Terms, as he ought not to have accepted, but after a long Train of Misfortunes. By this Truce, all that the *Venetians* had Conquered, that is, almoſt all *Friuli*, and all the *Auſtrian Iſtria*, remain'd intirely to them.

However this Truce might put an End to that War, yet it was far from creating a good Underſtanding between the Emperour and the *Venetians*; who upon ſeveral Occaſions furniſh'd him freſh Fewel for his Reſentment. Notwithſtanding the Peace they had patch'd up, they did with great Oſtentation make Publick Rejoicings for the Advantages they had gain'd over the *Germans*, during the Courſe of the War. For ſeveral Days together there was moſt ſumptuous Entertainments kept in the Houſe of *Cornaro*, who had been Provedi*t*or on the Frontiers. *Alviano*, who had commanded the Republick's Troops, and worſted the *Germans* in many Encounters,

counters, had a Mark of Honour and Diſtinction put upon him, which the Republick ſeldom beſtows, but upon Princes of the Firſt Rank, and for the moſt ſignal and moſt acceptable Services. The *Bucentaur* was ſent to take this General on Board, and to bring him in Triumph into the City. The whole City of *Venice* was full of Satyrical Prints and Pieces of Painting, Reflecting on the Emperour. The Comedians ſpar'd him not on the Stage, and the Streets rung with the inſolent Ballads that were made to his Diſhonour: All which, no doubt, proved Incentives to a laſting Hatred; ſince Princes, generally ſpeaking, reſent Injuries and Affronts done to their Perſons, more warmly than thoſe that are done to their Kingdoms. The Wiſe *Venetians*, for all their Republican Vertues, were not without their Faults: And it muſt certainly be one, to ſuffer ſuch Inſolencies to be committed againſt *Maximilian*, out of Spite and Malice upon the account of the War, however Injuſt, as well as Unſucceſsful, it had been on the ſide of that Prince.

There happen'd another Accident, which exaſperated the Emperour againſt the Republick more than ever. Some few Days after the Signing of the Truce, he ſent to the *Venetians* to propoſe a League, for driving *Lewis the Twelfth* out of *Italy*, and for dividing his Dominions in that Country between them. They liſten'd to the Emperour's Propoſals, but with no other intent, than that they might be the abler to give the King of *France* an exact Account of them. Their Refuſal of his Propoſal nettled *Maximilian* the more, that at the ſame time he had Notice of it, he heard what uſe they had made of the Eagerneſs he ſhew'd to Court them.

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In ſhort, every Paſſion in *Maximilian*'s Breaſt was flattered with the Notion he had of ſuch a War as the *League of Cambray* would produce. 1508.
He had naturally abundance of thoſe Qualities that are requiſite in a Soldier, but his reſtleſs Spirit made him long for War, ſo ſoon as he had concluded a Peace: And as he profuſely Squandered his own Money, ſo he greedily coveted other Peoples. For Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold he gave the Inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Lewis* the *Moor*, who was noted for Poiſoning his Nephew that he might Succeed him. This Emperour was known to ſerve the *King of England* in the Low Countries, for ſo much a Day for the Pay of his Troops, and ſo much for his own Equipage It was for Money that he undertook the Relief of *Piſa*, and for Money he abandon'd his Enterprize. In ſhort, he ſtuck at nothing, ſo he could but get Money by it; and he no ſooner had it than he laviſh'd it away. How many and how great ſoever his Reſources were, he quickly drain'd them, and therefore he was always in want. This was it got him the Name of *Maximilian the Poor*, or *Maſſimiliano Pochidinari*, among the *Italians* of his Time, and they keep it up to this Day. The Plan of ſuch a *League* as this of *Cambray* was the moſt agreeable Landskip a Prince of *Maximilian*'s Character could look on. A War which he could carry into the Heart of *Italy*, he thought, would produce him a plentiful Harveſt, and load his Head with Laurels, and ſtuff his Coffers with Ducats. The Imperial Fiefs, which are very Numerous in *Italy*, ſo long as the Emperour's Troops are on that ſide the *Alps*, are reputed, by an Ancient Right, liable to furniſh Subſiſtance for them: But how far thoſe Rights may be claimed and extended, is not eaſy to tell. The ſtrongeſt Side is always beſt able to determine that. *Maximilian* was always ready to Sign Treaties,

becauſe that brought him good ſtore of Crowns of Gold: And in that Point, every body knew his way ſo well, that they never propos'd to him the putting his Name to any ſuch Deed, without aſſuring him of a good round Sum of Money ſo ſoon as the Pen was out of Hand.

The Republick of *Venice*, which is reputed to know Foreign Princes the beſt of any State in the World, had at leaſt probable Reaſons to believe, that *Maximilian* had propoſed Leagues againſt them, both at *Rome*, and at *Paris*, and at *Saragoſſa*, yet were no ways alarm'd at it. They had good ground to believe, that his Propoſals would not take at all the Courts he offer'd them to: And that made them eaſy. To ſpeak truly, thoſe Princes were much more diſpoſed for a Rupture than a Confederacy. There had a Quarrel lately happen'd between the *Pope* and the *King of France*: *Julius the Second* having taken upon him to beſtow, againſt the King's Will, the Biſhopricks of *Aſti* and *Placenza*, which were within the Dominions of *Milan*. The King to ſhew his Reſentment for the Injury done him, ordered the Revenues of the Abby of *Chiara Valle*, which the *Pope* had confer'd on his Nephew, the *Cardinal of St. Peter's ad Vincula*, to be ſeiz'd. Conſidering the Situation of Affairs, the Senate had ground to believe, that if there was occaſion, they would always find Allies enough againſt any Attempt of their Enemies: And they fear'd no Diſaſter, ſo long as the Soveraign Powers were thus divided. What, according to their Speculations, made them think any ſuch Confederacy chimerical and impoſſible, was, that as often as it had been attempted it always prov'd unſucceſsful. Four Years before (the 14th of *September*, 1504) *Pope Julius the Second*, *Maximilian*, and *Lewis the Twelfth*, had at *Blois* ſign'd

ſign'd a Treaty of a League Offenſive againſt the Republick of *Venice*, by which thoſe Princes oblig'd themſelves mutually to aid and aſſiſt each other, for the Recovery of ſuch part of their ſeveral Rights and Dominions as the *Venetians* had Uſurp'd. But this Treaty was never ratified: And what was done had no other effect than to diſcover the Difficulties it muſt have met with in the Execution, ſince they were not able to reduce it to Form.

While the *Venetians* Heads were buſied with theſe and ſuch like Reflections and Speculations, the *League* againſt the Republick was ſign'd at *Cambray*. Beyond all Expectation, it was *Pope Julius*, and not *Maximilian*, that was the Firſt Author of it. No ſooner had this *Pope* got into *Saint Peter's Chair* than he formed a raſh and inconſiderate Deſign, of reuniting to the *Eccleſiaſtical Dominions*, all thoſe Parts of them as had been at any time ſeiz'd and uſurped by Strangers. However unreaſonable this Project ſeem'd to be, yet he purſued it with ſuch Ardour and Conſtancy, that after he had drove the *Bentivoglio's* out of the Territories of *Bologna*, he thought there remain'd nothing more for him to do, but to recover from the *Venetians* what they had unjuſtly taken from Saint *Peter*, which was, the Towns of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Rimini*, *Fuenza*, *Immola*, *Ceſenna*, and ſome other Places of leſs Note in *Romagna*.

It was about Two Hundred Years before this time that the *Venetians* had taken *Cervia* from one of thoſe little Soveraigns, who were numerous at that time in *Romagna*. *Oſtaſio Polenta*, *Tyrant* (to uſe the Language of thoſe Times) *of Ravenna*, did, in the Year 1441 deliver up that City to them, becauſe he could not hold it. The *Venetians* had made themſelves Maſters of the other Places of *Ro-*

*magna* in the Beginning of *Julius the Second*'s Pontificate, upon the Diſſolution of the *Duke de Valentinois*'s Government in *Romagna*, while his Father *Pope Alexander the Sixth* was alive. *Julius* had often, but in vain, endeavoured to have thoſe Acquiſitions reſtored by way of Negotiation; and therefore deſpairing of Succeſs by any other means, he reſolved to try what could be done by Force of Arms. But his own Force not being equal to the Enterprize, he reſolved to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperour, and the Kings of *France* and *Aragon*. An Union and Alliance with all thoſe Princes could not fail of Succeſs.

His *Holineſs* ventured fairly in making ſuch a League, at the Head of which he could not hope to be longer than it was once formed. But *Julius the Second*, the older he grew the more he became a Slave to his Paſſions, and the more he gratified his Reſentment. His Inclination to drive things to Extremity, was now grown into a Habit. Two Mortifications the *Venetians* had lately given him, had made him give full ſcope to that Anger and Spirit of Revenge that was natural to him, and forced him to take meaſures ſuddenly, which in cold-blood he might have deliberated on all his Life, without determining what courſe to take.

*Julius* had not only drove the *Bentivoglio's* from their Poſſeſſions in *Bologna*, but had alſo confirm'd himſelf in a violent Averſion to thoſe Gentlemen, proportionable to the Malice and Hatred he thought they entertain'd againſt him: And he carry'd his Spite ſo far as to oblige *Lewis the Twelfth* to ſend them out of the Dominions of *Milan*, whether they had fled for Sanctuary. This was a thing very well known over all *Italy*. The *Venetians* however had the courage to receive

ceive them into their Dominions. Soon after they had put this affront upon the *Pope*, the Biſhoprick of *Vicenza* happened to fall vacant, by the Death of the *Cardinal of Rovero*, his Nephew: And His *Holineſs* confer'd it on another of his Nephews, whom he made a Cardinal. The *Senate of Venice*, without any regard to the *Pope*'s Collation, nominated a *Venetian* Gentleman to this Biſhoprick. Though His *Holineſs* loudly complain'd of this Encroachment, yet the *Venetian* Gentleman, being nominated and inveſted by the Senate, entered upon poſſeſſion of the Profits of the Benefice. Notwithſtanding all the Briefs that *Rome* cou'd write, he continued in the Enjoyment of his Revenues; and inſulting as well as diſobeying the *Pope*, he deſign'd himſelf *Biſhop of Vicenza by the Favour of the Senate.*

*Lewis the Twelfth* was the Firſt Prince that the *Pope* courted to enter into a League with him againſt the *Venetians.* The Propoſal was made by the Cardinal *D'Auch*, and ſeconded by the Cardinal *D'Amboiſe*, who was a Sworn Enemy to the *Venetians*, ever ſince the laſt *Conclave*, becauſe they had oppoſed him, and put the *Triple Crown* on the Head of his Competitour. *Julius the Second* finding that his Firſt Propoſal had been favourably receiv'd, ſends away to the *Court of France Alberto Pio* of *Savoy*, *Count Soveraign of Carpi*, his chief Confident at that time. The Count was very well known at the *Court of France*, having been ſometimes employed in their Negotiations. After he had brought the King to reliſh the *Pope's* Project, and that Prince having order'd it to be communicated to the Emperour, His Imperial Majeſty no ſooner heard it than he agreed to it. The Subject of this Project was, That the Allies ſhould, to the utmoſt of their power, mutually aid and aſſiſt each other, for

the entire Recovery of ſuch Parts of their ſeveral Dominions as the *Venetians* had unjuſtly ſeized upon. The *King of Arragon*, when this Deſign was communicated to him, did no more than ſtart ſome Difficulties, which he thought were unavoidable in ſuch a Confederacy; but at the ſame time told them, That if the *Pope*, the Emperour, and the *King of France*, would conclude the League they had projected, he would not ſtand out. If the Project vaniſhed, he could, as he thought, eaſily perſuade the *Venetians*, that its falling to the ground was entirely owing to him; and if it were formed, he knew very well how to make his advantage by it.

No ſooner was the Negotiation ſet on foot, than the *Pope* began to diſcover a Coldneſs and Indifferency in the Matter: And the more he reflected, the more he condemn'd the meaſures he had taken. Though thoſe Reflections were not able to appeaſe his Reſentments, yet they blunted the Edge of his Revenge. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* perceiving the Nature of his Irreſolution, thought there was no better way to determine him, than by beginning to act without him. In order to this, the Cardinal *D' Amboiſe* goes to *Cambray*, to treat of this Affair; who knowing that his Maſter had an entire confidence in him, and that the Powers he had given him were full and without reſerve, he ſtuck at nothing, but acted to the utmoſt extent of them. Coming to *Cambray*, he found there before him Madam *Margaret of Auſtria*, *Dutcheſs Dowager of Savoy*, Daughter and Miniſter of *Maximilian*. Her Father had the ſame confidence in her as *Lewis* had in the Cardinal. This Princeſs had all the Talents and Qualifications that Men have for the Management of the greateſt Affairs; and beſides, had this Advantage above Men, that ſhe had join'd with her Manly

ly Qualities, the Talents peculiar to her own Sex; which enabled her to diſſemble, and hide her moſt Natural Sentiments, and to practiſe that Cunning and Complaiſance, which is ſo requiſite and proper to bend and ſoften Mens Minds, to reconcile the moſt oppoſite Humours, and to perſuade each Party that ſhe was implicitely in their Intereſt.

The *Pope*'s Nuntio at the Court of *France* durſt not refuſe the Cardinal *D'Amboiſe* to accompany him in a Journey, the Deſign of which was a Negotiation which the *Pope* himſelf had ſet on foot. The Conduct of the Ambaſſadour of *Aragon* at *Cambray* was ſuited to the Views of his Maſter; who had reſolv'd neither to hinder nor forward the Negotiation: and therefore did not meddle till after the Concluſion of it. The Cardinal *D' Amboiſe* acted and ſtipulated for the *Pope*; becauſe his Nuntio, when the Matter was firſt propos'd to him, alledging he had no former Inſtructions concerning that Affair, could by no means engage his Maſter's Word. Thus all the Points of the Negotiation were managed and diſcuſſed by Madam *Margaret* and the Cardinal.

In the mean time, leſt the *Venetians* ſhould be alarm'd at ſuch a Congreſs, it was neceſſary to throw duſt in their eyes. The moſt plauſible Pretext therefore was thought to be that of accommodating the Differences between the *Prince of Spain* and the *Duke of Gueldres*, who was an Ally of *France*. To make this Trick go down the better, this Treaty of the *Duke of Gueldres* was ſign'd on the Tenth of *December*, 1508 with great Ceremony; But the very ſame day the other Treaty was ſign'd with as much Secrecy. This other Treaty, and which was the true Occaſion of the Congreſs, was the League Offenſive againſt the *Venetians*.

It would ſeem that *Guicciardin*, *Lib. x. Hiſt.* did believe, that theſe Two Treaties, which are Two diſtinct Deeds, were reduced into One Inſtrument, and that the *League* againſt the *Venetians* only made up the ſecret Articles of the *Duke of Gueldres*'s Treaty. *Guicciardin*'s Fault, which probably was no other than a Negligence in not expreſſing himſelf diſtinctly, has given occaſion to *Varillas*'s committing an unpardonable Blunder. He gives us (*Hiſt. Louis XII. T. ii. P. 69.*) the Articles of the *League* againſt the *Venetians*, which Inſtrument was publiſhed about the time of the Treaty, as the ſecret Articles of the *Treaty of Cambray*, and One of his New Diſcoveries. *Varillas* makes uſe of theſe Articles to unfold the Myſteries of *Lewis the Twelfth*'s Conduct; which, ſays he, no Hiſtorian before himſelf was able to do, for want of the Knowledge of thoſe Articles. But it is certain, that they had been printed ſeveral times before *Varillas* came into the World, and all the Hiſtorians had made mention of them.

Never was any important Negotiation finiſh'd in leſs time than this of *Cambray*. The Plenipotentiaries were only Two: And the eſſential Point of the Negotiation, the Dividing of the Spoil of the *Venetians*, had been regulated beforehand. They had treated upon the Foot of every one's taking back what had belong'd to him: So what remained was only to examine and inquire into that, and then to reduce all into Writing. There was no great Difficulty in making this Inquiry, ſince the *Venetians* had made all thoſe Uſurpations and Encroachments within the compaſs of Two Centuries, and the Memory of them was ſtill freſh in Peoples Minds. All the Difficulties that could ariſe in concerting this Offenſive *League*, ſuch as, about the time of the Rupture

Rupture with the *Venetians*, the Nature of the mutual Succours, and the time they were to continue, were ſoon removed, through the great deſire the Allies had to bring the Treaty to a concluſion, before the *Venetians* could have time to penetrate into the Negotiation. The *Dutcheſs of Savoy* and the Cardinal treated more like independent Soveraigns than Miniſters that were accountable for their Conduct; becauſe they were very ſure, that whatever they promis'd and ſtipulated, their Principals would ſtand to, and make good.

It were needleſs to ſay any thing here of the Treaty concerning the *Duke of Gueldres*. That againſt the *Venetians* runs thus, That the *Pope*, the Emperour, the Kings of *France*, and *Aragon*, ſhall mutually aid and aſſiſt each other towards the Recovery of ſuch parts of their ſeveral Dominions as the *Venetians* have unjuſtly ſeiz'd and poſſeſs'd themſelves of, that is, for the *Pope*, the Towns of *Romagna:* For *Maximilian*, as Emperour, *Verona*, *Treviſa*, *Padua*, *Vicenza*, and *Roveredo*, and to him as Head of the *Auſtrian Family*, *Friuli* and *Iſtria:* To the *King of France* ſuch part of the Dominions of *Milan* as were in the hands of the *Venetians:* And to the *King of Aragon*, the Five Sea-Ports which the *Venetians* poſſeſs'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

That on the 1ſt Day of *April*, 1509, the *Pope* ſhall thunder out an Interdiction againſt the Republick of *Venice*; which they ſhall actually incur, if within 40 Days they do not reſtore what they have uſurped and unjuſtly taken: And that on the ſaid Firſt Day of *April*, the Kings of *France* and *Aragon*, as alſo His *Holineſs*, ſhall attack them with their Temporal Arms.

That the Emperour being bound by the Treaty of Truce concluded ſome Months ago with the *Venetians*,

*Venetians*, for the ſpace of Three Years, he ſhall not be obliged to break with them, till Fourty Days after the Firſt Hoſtilities committed by *France*, and Fourty Days after the Fulminating of the *Pope*'s Bull, and till the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Suſpenſions contained in it, are actually incurr'd by the *Venetians*. And that the *Pope* may furniſh the Emperour with a Reaſon for breaking his Oath with the Republick, His *Holineſs* ſhall addreſs a Brief to him, *as Patron of the* Church of *Rome*, by which he ſhall ſummon and require him to ſuccour and aſſiſt him for the Recovery of what juſtly belongs to the *Holy See*.

That the Kings of *Hungary* and *England*, the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Ferrara*, and the *Marqueſs of Mantua* ſhall be exhorted to enter into this Confederacy; which ſhall take place, even though ſome of the Parties look'd upon as contracting, ſhall not accept.

That neither the Emperour, nor his Grandſon the *Prince of Spain*, ſhall diſturb or moleſt the *King of Aragon* during the League, nor Six Months after, on the account of the Revenues or Adminiſtration of *Caſtile*, which then belong'd to *Jane*, the *Prince of Spain*'s Mother, Daughter of *Iſabella Queen of Caſtile*, and *Ferdinand King of Aragon*. Becauſe of the Weakneſs of this Princeſs the Government had devolved to her Son, the *Prince of Spain*; but the *King of Aragon*, upon divers Pretexts, enjoyed the Adminiſtration of *Caſtile*, as of right belonging to him, in prejudice of his Grandſon, the *Prince of Spain*.

That the Emperour ſhall for the Sum of an Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, give a New Inveſtiture of the Dominions of *Milan* to the *King of France*; which Inveſtiture ſhall include whatſoever Parts of thoſe Dominions ſhall be recovered from the *Venetians*, and ſhall be to the good Liking and

and according to the Rights of the Perſon inveſted.

That if the *Venetians* ſhall engage the *Turks* to enter *Chriſtendom*, that then the *League* made againſt the *Venetians* ſhall be reputed as made againſt the Infidels. This Accuſation of ſolliciting the *Turk* to invade *Chriſtendom*, has always been made uſe of in the Manifeſto's of ſome Princes, and practiſed as a Form indiſpenſably neceſſary, whenever they would render any other Prince or State odious to the *Chriſtian World*; as if the Divan regulated their Meaſures according to the Counſels of *Chriſtian Princes*.

That the Soveraign Powers contracting ſhould eſpecially bind and oblige themſelves to defend the *Holy See*, and to take care that all due reſpect ſhould be paid to it.

That all thoſe who would be comprehended in this Treaty, ſhould be obliged to ratify it in Two Months.

*Finally*, It was agreed, That none of the Powers contracting ſhould make either peace or truce with the *Venetians*, without the Conſent of the reſt: A Condition which Princes and States are as careful to have put in all their Treaties, as they are negligent to perform it.

This Treaty was quickly Sign'd, by the *Dutcheſs of Savoy* on the Part of the Emperour, and by the Cardinal *d' Amboize* on the part of the *Pope*, and of the King his Maſter. The *Nuncio*, who was upon the Place, refuſing to Sign it, for want of full Powers to that purpoſe; the Cardinal *d' Amboize*, by a Procedure, which ſeem'd as odd as extraordinary, ſign'd and ſtipulated in the Name of the *Pope*, without any other Authority from his Holineſs for ſo doing, than that of his *Bull* for being Legat in *France*; which certainly did not extend ſo far as to empower him to

to ſtipulate and ſign for his Holineſs in ſuch Caſes. But the *Treaty of Cambray* being ſo Advantageous to the Emperour, the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, his Imperial Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, to remove every Obſtacle and Hindrance, did engage him in it, upon the Cardinal's Word, That the *Pope*, though he would not give the Finiſhing Stroke to it, yet would readily enter into it ſo ſoon as he ſaw it was form'd by others. The *Ambaſſadour of Aragon*, ſhow'd either more Complaiſance, or more Courage in this Matter than the *Nuncio*: For all the Articles of this Treaty had been ſettled and agreed without ever Communicating the Contents of them to him. But after he had ſeen the Articles, which had ſecured to his Maſter the Peaceable Adminiſtration of *Caſtile*, and that for a long time, he made no manner of ſcruple to Sign the Treaty: Knowing that his Maſter *Ferdinand* was a Man capable to break through more ſolemn Engagements than this, whenever he found it for his Intereſt ſo to do.

The Treaty was no ſooner preſented to *Maximilian* and *Lewis* than they ratified it. We have already given the Reaſons why *Maximilian* long'd impatiently for the Concluſion of this Treaty: And the Reaſons which *Lewis the Twelfth* had not to enter into ſuch a Treaty are known. But the Duty of an Hiſtorian obliges me to relate the Motives he had for ſigning it; leaving it to the Reader to judge, whether he had reaſon for ſo doing or not: Though by the Conſequence he muſt needs blame the Conduct of this Prince.

The Motives that determin'd *Lewis the Twelfth* to enter into an alliance with Princes, who were often his avow'd, and always his ſecret Enemies, were of a different nature: That is, The Deſire of Revenge, and the Ambition to make his Dominions

minions more round and regular. The *Venetians* had ever oppos'd *Lewis the Twelfth*, but when they ſaw it for their Intereſt to ſide with him: Nay ſo far had they carry'd their Hatred and Arrogance, that to be *King of France* was to be the Object of both.

The common Whimſey of flouriſhing Commonwealths in thoſe Days was, To eſtabliſh a Ballance of Power among their Neighbouring Princes; though the different Cuſtoms of Countries, the Maxims of State, the Changes of Government, and Domeſtick Revolutions, make it impoſſible to find out this Equilibrium, and dangerous to attempt it. It run mightily in the *Venetians* heads to ſet up this Ballance of Power in *Italy*: And *Lewis the Twelfth* being in poſſeſſion of the Dominions of *Milan*, and the Seigniory of *Genoua*, it was no ſmall Grief, that they ſaw him ſending an Army to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*. This Enterprize look'd ſtill the more fatal to their Greatneſs, that they were then in poſſeſſion of the Five chief Sea-ports of that Kingdom, which they held by a very diſputable Title, and which were of the laſt importance to their Trade. Every one knows, when dear Intereſt gives the Orders, how religiouſly trading Republicks put them in Execution. Though by the Firſt Article of the Treaty of Alliance made at *Blois*, between the King then reigning and the *Venetians*, the Latter were obliged to look upon the Enemies of *France* as their own; yet no ſooner did Opportunity ſerve than they oppoſed to their utmoſt the Expedition of the *French* into the Kingdom of *Naples*. For ſome time this Kingdom was almoſt entirely brought under ſubjection to the *King of France*. The *Spaniſh Army*, who defended it at that time againſt him was dwindled away to a Garriſon at *Barlett*, and thoſe too reduced

duced to the Extremity of Hunger and Miſery. The *Venetians* nick'd the time ſo dexterouſly, that they quite chang'd the face of Affairs in that Country. For being abſolute Maſters of the Navigation of the *Adriatick Sea*, they poured in vaſt Quantities of Proviſions into thoſe Parts of the Kingdom of *Naples* which were in their Hands; from whence the Enemies of *France* were ſecretly ſupply'd with every thing they wanted. It was by the means of this ſeaſonable Relief that the *Spaniards* defended themſelves, and were put in a condition to take the field, and at laſt to drive the *French* out of a Country which all *Europe* believed them to be in peaceable poſſeſſion of. Such is the Diſcretion and Fidelity of the *Subjects of Venice*, that it is impoſſible for Strangers to diſcover any Deſign that the Government would have kept ſecret. The ways by which the Senate conveys its ſecret Aſſiſtances are ſo ſubterraneous, that they might confidently deny they ever gave the Succours which every one knew the Enemy received, and which none could give but that Republick. But beſides the Legal Proofs which *Lewis the Twelfth* had of his Allies ſuccouring and ſupplying his Enemies, he was ſufficiently perſuaded of the Truth of the Fact by the unanimous Agreement of all the *French* who had been in that Enterprize on *Naples*; who all bore witneſs of the ill offices thoſe Allies of his had done him. It was firmly aver'd, that without thoſe Succours the *Spaniards* received by the Way of *Brandiſi* and *Otranto*, it had been impoſſible for them to maintain themſelves in thoſe Poſts; the Preſervation of which was their only Safety. *Lewis the Twelfth* knew very well, that by the means of thoſe Succours the *Spaniards* had been put in a condition to take the Field, and that to them was owing the Loſs of

Three

Three Battles to the *French*. Thoſe Battels were accompany'd with Circumſtances very mortifying to a King, who had the Good of his People ſo much at heart as *Lewis the Twelfth* had. He lov'd his People more paſſionately than *Alexander the Great* did Glory, or *Cæſar* Power and Authority. Such of the *French* as had eſcaped the Sword of their Enemy, were almoſt all cut off by Miſery and Famine: The Loſs of ſo many of his beſt Subjects afflicted him more than the Loſs of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*. He look'd upon the *Venetians* as the Spring and Firſt Cauſe of his Enemies Proſperity, and conſequently of his own Diſaſter: For they only were able to give thoſe Succours which he was ſure his Enemies had received.

Not long before *Lewis the Twelfth* had ſign'd the *League of Cambray*, he had received another Mortification from the *Venetians*. When the Emperour fell upon them for refuſing his Troops Paſſage through their Country, *Lewis* ſent them conſiderable Succours. This Exactneſs in fulfilling the Conditions of the *Treaty of Blois*, which the *Venetians* had ſo little regard to, did at leaſt require the Obſervation of that Article, by which the ſeveral Parties were obliged not to make peace or truce with the Common Enemy, without the mutual Conſent of one of another. Nevertheleſs the *Venetians* concluded their Truce with *Maximilian*, without the Participation of the Embaſſadours which *France* had ſent to aſſiſt at the Treaty: And the Returns they made to the juſt Reproaches of thoſe Miniſters, were rather Menaces than mannerly Anſwers: And the Truce was ſign'd notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances to the contrary. The *Venetians*, 'tis true, did reſerve room for *Lewis the Twelfth* in their Treaty; and that Prince having declared that in a certain time

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he would accept it, ought to have been reputed as comprehended in the Treaty. But this room was left for him in a ſeparate Article; and there was no mention made of him neither in the Title nor in the Preamble of the Treaty. The *Venetians* dealt by the *King of France*, their Ally, as Potentates of the Firſt Magnitude uſe to do by inferiour States, when theſe, to obtain Guarantees for themſelves, deſire to be comprehended in the Treaties of thoſe. Though *Lewis the Twelfth* was one of the beſt of Princes, yet he did not extend his Indulgence to thoſe that did not keep to the Terms of Alliance with him, or that did not pay him reſpect ſuitable to the Dignity of his Crown.

On the other hand, the Advantages he reap'd by the *Treaty of Cambray* were ſo conſiderable and ſo ſure, that they might ſufficiently juſtify his Politicks; if Soveraign Princes, in the meaſures they take, were not obliged to have quite ſo great regard to the future as to the preſent time. By this *League* he was to recover all thoſe Parts of his Dominions in the *Milaneſe* that the *Venetians* had unjuſtly taken from him: And what they had uſurped was ſo conſiderable, as that they made a Third Part of the whole.

Thoſe Uſurpations had been made at ſeveral times. In the Year 1540, *Philip Maria Viſconti*, *Duke of Milan*, was forced to give up to the *Venetians Bergamo* and *Breſſia*, with the Territories belonging to them. Theſe Acquiſitions did not terminate the View the *Venetians* had at that time: But the famous *Sforza*, then General of the Armies of Saint *Mark*, ſetting up as Umpire between his Maſters and the Enemy, the *Venetians*, by reaſon of the Cowardiſe and Treachery of their Soldiers, were obliged to reſt ſatisfy'd with theſe Two Towns.

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This *Sforza* becoming *Duke of Milan*, did by the *Treaty of Ledi*, in *April* 1455, yield up to the *Venetians* the Town of *Crema*; which they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of, during the Revolution in the *Milaneſe*.

*Lewis the Twelfth* himſelf had diſmember'd the *Milaneſe* in favour of the *Venetians*. This Prince, ſo ſoon as he came to the Crown, had a mind to aſſert his Right to the Dominions of *Milan*. *Lewis Sforza*, better known by the Name of *Lewis the Moor*, was then in poſſeſſion of it, and it was like to prove no eaſy matter to diſpoſſeſs him. He had powerful Princes for his Allies: And if he had acquired thoſe Dominions by unjuſt means, he ſhew'd no ill Conduct in preſerving them. *Lewis the Twelfth*, who was always very ſparing of his Money as well as of the Blood of his Subjects, choſe rather to ſhare the Dominions of *Milan* with the *Venetians*, than to make an entire Acquiſition of them by a bloody and deſtructive War. And therefore he ſigned a Treaty of Alliance with them at *Blois*, in *April* 1499, for conquering and ſharing the *Milaneſe*. By this Treaty, *Cremona*, the *Glaiara d' Adda*, and generally all that part of thoſe Dominions that lie on the Left Side of the *Adda*, excepting *Lecco*, was allotted to the *Venetians*; and the reſt of the *Milaneſe* fell to the ſhare of *Lewis the Twelfth*. This Treaty was duely executed; and in one Campaign each Party put themſelves in poſſeſſion of their Allotment. *Lewis the Twelfth*, not ſatisfy'd with this Alliance, did in all appearance heartily repent the paying ſo dear for his Share of thoſe Dominions. *Jo. Jac. Trivulz*, and ſeveral other *Milaneſe Lords*, were in great credit at that time at the *Court of France*. It is well known, that the *Milanois*, who are the moſt jealous People in the World

of the Splendour and Honour of their Country, bear very impatiently any Diſmembering of it; and that they inceſſantly uſe all the credit they have with their Maſters, to engage them to re-unite ſuch Parts of it as have been alienated. Their earneſt Sollicitations moved *Lewis the Twelfth*; and the rather, becauſe his Firſt Miniſter, the *Cardinal D' Amboiſe* was of their Side, and for a long time had ſtrengthen'd their Remonſtrances by his Counſel and Advice to the King. He was Uncle to *Chaumont*, *Steward of the King's Houſhold*, *Marſhal of France*, and *Governour of the Dominions of Milan*, and the King's Lieutenant General on the other ſide the *Alps*. The Intereſt of the Uncle and Nephew was the ſame, and *Chaumont* wiſh'd nothing ſo much as the Enlargement of his Province. By enlarging it he mightily recommended himſelf to the *Milanois*, and at the ſame time reaped the abundant fruits of his Labour.

*Lewis the Twelfth* and *Maximilian* had ratify'd the *League of Cambray*, before ever it was known at *Venice* that it was ſign'd. The Report of that Congreſs at *Cambray* alarm'd only ſome of the Senators, and their Conjectures upon the true Motives of that Aſſembly were imputed to their *Panick Fear:* They were look'd on as Men whom Fear had made exceſſively ſuſpicious: The *Venetians* being of opinion, that any State or Kingdom ſuffers as much by Unmanly Fear, as by Stupid Security. Beſides, they were not a little encourag'd by the Diſpatches of *Antonio Condelmerio*, their Embaſſadour at the *Court of France*; who believing all that was told him by the *French Miniſters*, ſent home their Lies for certain Truths. He had ſeveral times expreſſed himſelf very fully and freely to the Cardinal *D' Amboiſe* about

about the jealouſies he had of the Congreſs at *Cambray*. He told him how hard it was for him to believe that *Madam of Savoy* and the Firſt Miniſter of *France*, would ever make ſuch a journey, with no other Deſign but to confer about the Concerns of the *Duke of Gueldres*. The *Italian Hiſtorians* ſay, That the Cardinal *D' Amboiſe* finding himſelf an unequal Match for *Condelmerio* at cunning and ſubtil Diſcourſes, ſuch as by a dexterous Interpretation might be ſo turned, as that all he ſaid might ſometime paſs for Truth, had recourſe to the groſſeſt ſort of Tricking. In ſhort, thoſe Hiſtorians would make the World believe, that this *French Miniſter* did often ſwear to the *Venetian Embaſſadour*, upon the Word of a Firſt Miniſter and a Cardinal, that the King would inviolably obſerve the *Treaty of Blois*, and that there ſhould nothing be treated on at *Cambray* to the prejudice of his Maſters. That is, That the the *French man* not having wit enough to overreach the *Italian*, was fain to have recourſe to Lying; and for want of Ingenuity to act the part of a clever Knave, he took to that of an impudent Impoſtor. The Embaſſadour being thus lull'd aſleep himſelf, perſuaded his Maſters to reſt ſecure, by telling them that the Republick had not a truer Friend in the World than the *King of France*.

By what means ſoever it was that *Condelmerio* was put upon, this is certain, that the *French* upon this Occaſion paid the *Venetians* in their own coin for the trick they had put upon them Twelve Years before. The Reader will eaſily perceive that I mean the Caſe of the Treaty among the *Italian Princes* for driving *Charles the Eighth* out of *Naples*. That League was concluded at *Venice*, under the eyes of *Philip de Commines*, whom *Charles the Eighth* had ſent thither, in or-

der to prevent it: And who had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo gull'd by the crafty Diſcourſes of the Senate, that he could never penetrate into any Step of the Negotiation; and knew nothing of the matter till the Treaty was finiſh'd, and the *Doge* acquainted him in a full Senate that the League was concluded. The Surprize with which *Commines* received this News, is ſo naturally and lively repreſented by himſelf, that the *Venetian Hiſtorians* take no ſmall pleaſure in relating it.

The firſt news the Senate had of the *League of Cambray* was by *Jac. Caroldio* their Reſident at *Milan*. When what had paſs'd at *Cambray* came firſt to be diſcourſed of, this Reſident had heard a certain *Piedmontois*, a Native of *Carmagnola*, who was in much credit with *Chaumont*, ſay, *I ſhall quickly have the pleaſure of revenging the Death of my moſt illuſtrious Country-man, upon theſe Villains that put him to death unjuſtly.* The Meaning of this was very plain to the Reſident. He had often argued with this *Piedmontois* about the Juſtice of the unhappy Fate of *Fran. Buſſon*, commonly known by the Name of *Carmagnola*, becauſe he was born in the Town of that Name. *Buſſon*, though of very mean Birth, had raiſed himſelf by his Merit to that degree of Reputation in Warlike Matters, as to be thought fit to command the *Venetian Army*, in the War between that Republick and *Philip Viſconti*. At laſt the *Venetians* were diſſatisfy'd with him: And the *Council of Ten* having impeached him for Treaſon, he was condemned, and beheaded in the moſt publick Place of the City. It was the opinion of many at that time, that all his Crime was, that the *Venetians* were weary of his Service, but durſt not diſcharge him, for fear he ſhould diſcover their Secrets: Though there was another Reaſon given for his Death; and full as probable; which was, That they

they had a great mind to appropriate, by way of Confiſcation, the Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, which he had heap'd together out of his ſeveral Employments. It was no hard matter for the Reſident to comprehend the Meaning of what this Country-man of *Carmagnola*'s ſaid; for it often happens that thoſe who have a Secret, forget themſelves ſo far as to diſcover it, without being aware that they are ſaying any thing relating to it. No ſooner had the Reſident heard the *Piedmontois* talk at this rate, than he wrote to the Senate what he had heard, and what his Suſpicions and Conjectures were upon it. The Eyes of the Senate being open'd by this Account, and other Circumſtances concurring, there was no room left them for doubting that this Storm was gathered, and ready to fall on them. Such a League as this of *Cambray* was, could not be concealed long after its Concluſion: Some few Months being a long time for ſuch Secrets to lye hid.

Though the *Venetians* had not foreſeen this Storm, yet they had time enough to divert it before it could fall upon them. The *Pope*, whom they had reaſon to look upon as their moſt dangerous Enemy, did not ratifie the *League*, till after he had given them fair warning, and as it were, ſummon'd them to hold his hand. As on the one hand the grudge he bore the Republick, and the earneſt deſire he had to recover the Towns of *Romagna* out of the *Venetians* hands, diſpoſed him to declare War againſt them; ſo on the other, the jealouſies he had of the Emperour's getting footing in *Italy*, and his Unwillingneſs to contribute any thing to the Increaſe of *Lewis the Twelfth*'s Power, check'd his Inclinations. At laſt he took a courſe, which to him ſeem'd the moſt proper for procuring the Satisfaction he

deſired, without expoſing himſelf to the Dangers he apprehended. Going to take the air on the Sea one Day, in one of his *Felucca's*, he took *Piſani*, One of the Two *Venetian Embaſſadours* then reſiding at his Court, along with him: And, from one Diſcourſe to another, he began to feel the Embaſſadour's pulſe, in relation to what he thought the Republick would give him to prevent his ratifying the *League of Cambray*. He gave *Piſani* to underſtand, that his Honour was engaged to re-unite *Fuenza* and *Rimini*, at leaſt, to the *Eccleſiaſtical Dominions*, and that in order to that he had advanced too far to think of going back. But that if his Maſters would find out ſome Expedient to ſave his Honour, he would remain their good Friend, and take ſuch meaſures as could not fail of fruſtrating all the Projects of the Princes on the other ſide the *Alps*, againſt their Republick. He told him further, that he had an Expedient that would put an end to the Diſpute, without prejudicing either theirs or his Honour. That the Republick would recommend Two of their Nobles to him, ſuch as they ſhould chuſe, and that he would give them the Inveſtiture of *Fuenza* and *Rimini*, to hold them in Fief, dependant on the *Holy See*. *Piſani*, who was a thorough pac'd ſurly Republican, anſwer'd very dryly to the *Pope*'s Propoſal. He told him that their Government put all their Nobles on a level; and it being their conſtant Purpoſe, never to ſuffer any of them to become Servants to the others, they could entertain no Thoughts of having any Princes among themſelves. It is true, that the *Venetians* are ſo very nice in this Point, that they never ſuffer any of their Nobles to purchaſe Fiefs on the *Terra Firma*, leſt ſome of them ſhould become the Vaſſals of others. This unſucceſsful Attempt did not

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at all diſcourage His Holineſs from making another. Knowing that *Badoero*, the other *Venetian* Ambaſſadour at *Rome*, was a more engaging and eaſier Man to treat with, he repreſented to him the Danger their Republick muſt be expos'd to, if that Treaty of a League againſt it ſhould be brought to Perfection; and if all thoſe Sovereign Powers that were to come into it, ſhould once take the Field to put it in Execution. He offered on his Part, not to ratifie the Treaty, provided *Faenza* and *Rimini* were yielded up to him: And at the ſame time endeavoured to perſuade him, that the League would fall of its own accord, if he did not Support it. In ſhort, the Ambaſſadour was given to underſtand, that it was abſolutely Neceſſary to give up thoſe Two Places, that the *Pope* might have a plauſible Pretext for refuſing to ratify a Treaty, of which he could not diſown himſelf to have been the Promoter: And that the Reſtitution of thoſe Two Places, would be a ſufficient Excuſe, for his not ratifying it. That His Holineſs, in that Caſe, might plead, that he was diſcharged from the Performance of his Part of the Treaty, the *Venetians* having of their own Accord prevented the Execution of it, with Reſpect to him, by giving the *Holy See* all the Satisfaction, that was required by the Treaty. That inſtead of being a Party, the *Pope* would become a Mediator. *Finally*, That ſo ſoon as his Honour was Vindicated, nothing ſhould hinder him from purſuing his true Intereſt; which he knew was not very conſiſtent with the League of *Cambray*.

*Badoero* gave an exact Account to the College, of what the *Pope* had propoſed to him. So ſoon as the Propoſals were Communicated to the Senate, they entered upon the moſt ſerious Deliberation, about what Inſtructions they ſhould ſend to their

Ambaſſadour at *Rome*, with relation to this Matter. *Lewis Molino*, a Man of ſingular Merit, and who, had his Country-men been Wiſe, ought to have been the Oracle of their Republick, plainly and warmly repreſented to them the Neceſſity there was, conſidering the preſent Situation of their Affairs, for ſending the *Pope* an obliging Anſwer, and ſuch as would engage him to a Negotiation with them. The wiſer ſort were for giving his Holineſs all the Satisfaction he demanded; but that was carry'd againſt them. The Procurator *Piſani* expreſs'd himſelf ſo warmly againſt *Julius the Second*, that he turned almoſt the whole Senate, who had comply'd with the Propoſals that were made to *Badoero* at *Rome*. The Speech that this Noble *Venetian* made upon this Occaſion is related by *Guicciardin*, and is one of the greateſt Ornaments of his Hiſtory. *Treviſani* told them Firſt, That the *Pope*, whoſe Troops were the Scandal of all Soldiers, was not an Enemy ſo formidable, as to oblige the Republick to ſlacken their uſual Firmneſs and Reſolution, with no other View than to pacify him. That his Excommunications were as little to be fear'd as his Troops. That during the War of *Ferrara*, all his Excommunications, with all the Solemnity they had been thundred out, had not been able to prejudice the Conduct of their Generals, nor ſlacken the Courage of their Soldiers. That it was not very likely, that the Juſtice and Mercy, the Rewards and Puniſhments of God Almighty ſhould be in the Power, and at the diſpoſal of an exceſſively proud and ambitious Man; who was a Slave to his Cups, and to other Vices much more Infamous: Nor that ſuch a Man could make the Divine Power ſubſervient to his Caprices, without having any regard to Juſtice or to the common Good of *Chriſtendom*. That unleſs

unleſs it could with reaſon be believ'd, that the Promiſes and Engagement of Prieſts would be more religiouſly kept and obſerv'd under that Pontificate, than ever they had been before, he did not ſee upon what Ground any one could reckon that the *Pope* would be contented with *Fuenza* and *Rimini*, and that he would not enter into the League for the recovery of *Ravenna* and *Cervia:* The breaking of Treaties being an eſſential Ingredient in the Character of the *Court of Rome.* That to juſtify ſuch Proceedings, among other Laws, it had made this One, That the Church, notwithſtanding any Deed or Promiſe, or any Benefit it had received thereby, might retract and infringe any Engagement its Prelates had enter'd into, how ſolemnly ſoever. This Orator further added, That, ſuppoſing the *Pope* ſhould diſengage himſelf from the other Confederated Princes, they would nevertheleſs Attack the Republick: Which, as he ſaid, was in a Condition to Defend it ſelf againſt them and the *Pope* too; as well as it had done ſeveral times before, againſt all the Forces of *Italy*. That the beſt way to baffle any League was to ſuſtain its firſt Efforts. That mere preſent Advantage being that which ſemented and united thoſe Confederated Princes, they would ſoon begin to miſtruſt aad diſlike one another, from which Quarrels would ariſe, and thoſe would End in a Rupture. That good or ill Succeſs would equally create Diviſions among them. If Succeſs attended their Arms, they would fall out about ſharing their Conqueſts: If otherwiſe, they would mutually charge each other with Negligence, or Prevarication. This, ſays *Treviſani*, is what we may reaſonably expect of the *Treaty of Cambray*, ſince the Intereſt of the ſeveral Princes concern'd in it are incompatible. In fine, ſays he, Let *Julius*

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*the Second*, go look for thoſe that will truſt him among ſuch as know nothing of his having raiſed all *Europe* againſt a Republick, to which he owes his wearing the tripple Crown.

This Speech of *Treviſani* flattered the Pride of the *Venetians* too much not to agree to what he ſaid; and the Orator was ſo unhappy, as to draw the whole Senate into his Sentiment. The Republick of *Venice* had not yet learned to yield, and their uninterrupted Proſperity diſpoſed them to follow implicitely the Judgment of an inconſiderate Citizen, who entertain'd too great an Opinion of his own Country, and too great a Contempt of its Enemies. The Anſwer the Senate gave to the Propoſals of *Julius the Second*, was the ſame as the *Lacedemonians* gave to *Philip*. A Refuſal conceived in the ſhorteſt Terms.

The Contempt the *Venetians* ſhew'd for the Enmity or Friendſhip of the *Pope*, determin'd his wavering Spirit to War. He confirmed himſelf in a full Reſolution to make War, and ratified the League in the moſt authentick Manner, and the Deed by which he accepted the Ratification of the *League of Cambray*, dated the Twenty Second of *May* 1509, was in the form of a Bull.

Some Days before the *King of Aragon* had likewiſe ratified the Treaty; who not being able to hinder the League, he reſolv'd to make the beſt of it. He reap'd two conſiderable Advantages by it. The Firſt of which was, that by the Treaty, *Maximilian* had obliged himſelf to let him enjoy the Adminiſtration of *Caſtile*: The other was, the Recovery of thoſe Sea Ports in the *Kingdom of Naples*, which were then in the *Venetians* Hands. Thoſe Ports were, *Otranto*, *Brindiſi*, *Trano*, *Monopole*, and *Pulignano*. They had fallen into the Hands of the *Venetians*, during the Wars between *Charles the Eighth*, *King of France*, and the Baſtard

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*Houſe of Aragon.* The *Venetian* Fleet having taken *Polignano* and *Monopoli* from the *French*, the Republick put Garriſons in them, that they might be a Security for the Reimburſment of the Sums they had expended in the Service of *Ferdinand* the Yong *King of Naples.* This Prince, ſometime before his Death, deliver'd to them the Three other Ports, as a further Security for their Money. One of the Articles of the Treaty of Engagement was, That the *Venetians* ſhould be obliged to reſtore thoſe Places that were depoſited in their Hands to the *King of Naples*, upon Reimburſment of the Charges they had been at in keeping them. This Prince, by a very uſeful and diſcreet Precaution, had ſtipulated, that thoſe Charges, be what they would, ſhould not be adjudged to exceed Four Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold. But thoſe Places were of too great Conſequence to the *Venetian* Trade, to think that ever that Republick would part with them willingly, and with no other View than that of fulfilling the Treaty. Upou various Pretexts, which thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion have always ready, they had often eluded the Propoſitions that were made for reimburſing them; which *Ferdinand*, after he became peaceable Poſſeſſor of *Naples*, offered them every Month. It was not without Reluctancy that he entered into the *League of Cambray*; but the leſs Satisfaction he had in putting his Hand to that Engagement, ſuch was his artful Diſſimulation, his outward Expreſſions of Joy were the greater.

The *Duke of Ferrara*, and the *Marqueſs of Mantua* entered with much Satisfaction into this League, becauſe of the Honour that was thereby done them, and becauſe they were like to reap more Advantage by it, at leaſt for the preſent,

ſent, than little Princes uſually find in their Alliances with great Ones.

The *Duke of Ferrara* reckoned to be eas'd from Two hard Conditions, which the *Venetians* had required of *Albert d' Eſte, Lord of Ferrara*, when after he had declared himſelf againſt them in Favour of the *Carrati*, found himſelf obliged to beg Peace of them, in the Year 1403. The Firſt of thoſe Conditions was, That the *Lords of Ferrara* ſhould put down their Salt-works at *Commachio*; and that for the future their Subjects ſhould Furniſh themſelves with that Commodity, out of the Granaries of the Republick. The Second was, That the Lords of *Ferrara* ſhould be obliged to ſuffer the Republick of *Venice* to conſtitute a Judge in their Capital City, to adminiſter Juſtice in the Name of St. *Mark*, in all ſuch Cauſes as the *Venetians* were Intereſted. The *Venetians* had always rigorouſly exacted che Obſervation of thoſe Conditions: And whenever the Lords of *Ferrara* attempted to ſhake of the Yoke, all they got by it, was to have it made more Heavy, and more cloſely Bound. *Hercules d' Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*, having in the Year 1482, entered into an Alliance with moſt part of the Potentates of *Italy*, againſt the Republick of *Venice*; the aboveſaid Conditions were not only confirmed by the Treaty of *Bagnolo*, which put an End to that War; but he was further oblig'd by that Treaty to give up *Adria*, *Abaddia*, *Rovigo*, and *Poleſina* to the *Venetians*. An Opportunity, by which the Duke of *Ferrara* might at once ſhake of thoſe Fetters the *Venetians* had put upon him, and recover the Dominions they had extorted from him, was too favourable for him not to embrace it.

7. *Aug.* 1484.

The Marqueſs of *Mantua* demanded back *Paſchiera*, *Aſola*, and *Lunato* from the *Venetians*. This Lord's

Lord's Anceſtors had been obliged to yield up thoſe Places to the *Venetians*, by an Article of the Peace that was made between the *Florentines* and their Allies on one ſide, and the Republick of *Venice* on the other, in the Year 1441.

The Duke of *Savoy*, for whom, as well as for other Princes, a Door was ſtill left open to enter into the League of *Cambray*, delay'd coming in for ſome time. *Lewis the Twelfth* had been Succeſsful in ſeveral Encounters before this Prince wrote to him to be receiv'd into the League; the Duke's Letter bearing Date the Tenth of *May* 1509, and that of the King's the Ninteenth of the ſame Month. However, whatever the Iſſue might be, the Duke was admitted. His Grievances againſt the *Venetians* were founded upon his Pretentions to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; but the League, however formidable it might be to the *Venetians* by Land, had not a Sea Force ſufficient for any maritime Conqueſts. Beſides, the Dukes of *Savoy* did not look upon their Pretentions to this Kingdom as any real Right till the Age following; that they began to take the Title of King of *Cyprus*, and to aſſume the Arms of it.

So ſoon as the League had received the finiſhing Stroke, the Princes that had Signed it ſet about the Execution of it: And then it was that the *Venetians*, who had flattered themſelves that it would never be ratified, began to be Allarmed. The nearer the Danger drew, the more ſenſible they were of the Reality and Terrour of it. But their Fear was not a ſtupid Conſternation; for at once they took proper Meaſures for ſuſtaining the War, and deliberated by what Means they might procure a Peace. They ſent to the *Pope* to offer him all the Conditions they had formerly Refuſed him, and they left no Stone unturn'd to diſunite the Emperour and King of *Aragon*

*gon* from the King of *France*. The Last had so much justice done him at *Venice*, that they believed that *Lewis* the *Twelfth* was the only Person of all the Confederate Princes, that was incapable of breaking his Engagements; and therefore they had not offer'd him the most advantageous Conditions, in order to a separate Peace between him and the Republick. All the Efforts the *Venetians* made for dissolving the League, fell to the ground: For the *Pope*, the Emperour, and the King of *Aragon*, upon different Motives, were equally deaf to all the Propositions that the Senate made.

All the Instances and Sollicitations the *Venetians* used with other Foreign Princes, to engage them either to give a diversion to the Confederates, or to obtain Succours against them, produced nothing but obliging Wishes and empty Promises. The K. of *England*, who was sollicited by the *Venetian* Embassadour at his Court, to fall upon *France*, while that King was beyond the *Alps* with his best Troops, thought it adviseable at that time, to give no other Return to the Embassadour's Propositions, than a civil Answer, expressing abundance of Affection for the Republick. *L. Raymondo*, whom the Republick had sent to the *Grand Seignior*, in quality of an Embassadour Extraordinary, to demand the Succours that had been promised them when their Occasions should require, had no better Success, not being able to obtain from the *Port* any thing but abundance of fine Promises. It is to *Mocinego* that we owe the Account of *Raymondo*'s Commission; for the latter *Venetian* Historians either write confusedly of it, or insinuate that the Matter of Fact is not true. *Justiniani* falsifies in this Matter, by pretending that *Raymondo*'s Mission was during the Siege of *Padua*, upon that violent Speech that was made by the *Doge Loredano*'s Son, in the Great Council against *Julius* the *Second*, and

that

this Miniſter's Powers were recall'd before ever he had audience of the *Grand Seignior*. *Bembo*, to make the World believe that this Fact is not true, though he has not the aſſurance to ſpeak out, tells us, That *Sultan Bajazet*, upon the News of the Battel of *Agnadel*, ſent for *Andrea Foſcolo*, the *Venetian* Embaſſadour then reſiding at his Court, and told him, That he wondered the *Venetians* made ſo little account of his Friendſhip, as not to acquaint him with the Poſture of their Affairs, nor to demand of him ſuch Succours as they had occaſion for, and which they might be aſſur'd they ſhould have. If this Account of *Bembo*'s were ſincere, it would appear by what the *Grand Seignior* ſaid to the *Venetian* Embaſſadour, that before that time the *Venetians* had never apply'd to the *Port* for any Succours. But the Cunning of that Hiſtorian in this Matter is ſo flat, that he muſt be blind indeed that can't ſee it. The only Refuge the *Venetians* had now was in their good Conduct and Riches: And their Safety conſiſted in thoſe Vertues that uſually appear in Commonwealths, when their Danger proceeds from the Faults and Miſmanagements they have committed.

All thoſe Misfortunes, that uſually happen to thoſe States which Fortune ſeems to have abandon'd, fell heavy at this time upon the Republick of *Venice*. They met with great Obſtacles where they expected none, and one Misfortune trod upon the heels of another. Whether by Chance or by Treachery, is uncertain, but their Arſenal was ſet on fire, and a great part of it burnt down. Thoſe who uſed to take arms for their Defence, liſted themſelves in the Service of their Enemies. The *Urſini* and the *Savelli* had agreed to come into their Service, with Five Hundred Men at arms, and Three Hundred Foot; and they had advanced them Fifteen Thouſand Crowns

Crowns of Gold upon their Pay. But they broke their Engagement; and the *Pope*, by diſpenſing with the Reſtitution of the Money that had been advanced them, ſeemed to allow their keeping back other Peoples Goods without any Sin. The *Venetians*, notwithſtanding all theſe Rubs, aſſembled an Army of Fourty Thouſand Foot, a numerous Body of Light Horſe, and Three Thouſand Men at arms. It was but a ſmall part of this Army that was ſent into Garriſon in the Places they poſſeſs'd in *Naples* and *Romagna*. The *Pope's* Armies were never very formidable; and the King of *Aragon*, though he had promiſed the Allies to make a quick and powerful Diverſion, had not as yet made any of thoſe neceſſary Preparations that were requiſite to enable him to make his Word good. Beſides, the *Venetians* reckon'd, with their Fleet, that was ready to put to Sea upon the Firſt Orders, to ſuccour thoſe Places that were moſt likely to be attack'd by thoſe Two Enemies.

As for *Maximilian*, conſidering that his way was to threaten long before he gave the Blow, and that there was little appearance he would fall upon them before the Latter End of *May*, they thought it adviſeable only to ſend ſome Militia to guard the Paſſes, through which he would come down into *Italy*. Their greateſt and moſt imminent Danger was from the King of *France*; and therefore the whole Force of the Rupublick was directed to that Quarter. The General Rendezvous of their Army was at *Pontevico*, upon the *Oglio*; and upon review it was found to conſiſt of Three Thouſand Men at Arms, Four Thouſand Light Horſe, and Thirty Thouſand Foot: All of them the Flower of the *Italian* Soldiery! 'Tis true, that ſeveral Hiſtorians make the *Venetian* Army leſs numerous; but their Authority is not

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to be put in the Ballance with that of thoſe three *Venetian* Authors *Mocenigo*, *Bembo*, and *Juſtiniani*, who were all Contemporary. They all agree in the aboveſaid Number, nor could they have any reaſon for Magnifying that Army, the Defeat of which they relate ſome few pages after that, where they give a Liſt of them.

This Army was commanded by that renown'd General, the Count *de Pitigliano*, and under him by *Bart. Alviano* as Lieutenant General. *Andrew Gritti*, and *George Cornaro*, both Nobles, and Men of great Abilities, and who had acquired great Reputation in the laſt War againſt *Maximilian*, were appointed Proveditors of the Army. Every body knows what the nature of this Employment is, and that thoſe who enjoy it, ſhare the Command of the *Venetian* Army with the Generals.

The Generals were of different Opinions when they came to ſettle the Scheme, and concert the Operations of the Campaign. *Alviano*, a Man naturally bold, but ſtill more Audacious by reaſon of his late Succeſſes, was for preventing the Enemy, by paſſing the *Adda*, and carrying the War into that Country which is properly call'd the Dutchy of *Milan*: Becauſe, as he alledged, acting on the Offenſive would add to the Courage of their Troops; who muſt needs find the contrary effect if they ſhould give the *French* the Advantage of Attacking them. On the contrary the Count *de Pitigliano* was againſt putting any thing to Hazard, in a War where the Preſervation for one Campaign only, of what they poſſeſs'd, and not the Enlargment of their Dominions, was the Conteſt: And therefore propos'd to Encamp their Army at *Orci*, between the *Oglio* and the *Serco de la Martinenga*, which was a Poſt equally advantageous and inattackable.

He demonſtrated to them, how eaſily they might from thence Succour and relieve ſuch places as the *French* might attempt to Beſiege, and that the Army might eaſily have Subſiſtance in that Camp, which had prov'd of ſo great Importance on ſeveral Occaſions, during the Wars between the Dukes of *Milan* and the Republick. Theſe two Projects being laid before the Senate, they approv'd neither of them. They thought *Alviano*'s Scheme too Raſh, and *Petigliano's* too Timorous; becauſe that by the latter the *Ghiara d' Adda*, and almoſt all that part of the *Venetian* Territories that lyes on the right ſide of the *Oglio* was abandon'd to the *French*. The Orders therefore which the Senate gave their Generals, were to hinder the *French*'s paſſing the *Adda*, but at the ſame time to avoid coming to Action ſo long as the Iſſue ſeem'd doubtful.

The *Venetians* had reaſon to make it their cheif Care to defend their Frontiers on that ſide next the *French*. While *Lewis* the *Twelfth* was aſſembling his Army in order to force his Paſſage over the *Adda*, *Maximilian* was in the low Countries, entirely taken up about Squeezing of Money upon various pretexts, out of his Grandſon's Subjects. *Lewis* however was not in a readineſs to make this Attempt on the firſt of *April*, which was the time Appointed by the Treaty of *Cambray* to begin the Rupture with the *Venetians*. But *Julius* the *Second*, who thought he could never ſee *Italy* in a Flame ſoon enough, and who burn'd with Impatience to ſee the beginning of thoſe forty days, at the end of which, according to the Treaty, *Maximilian* was to draw his Sword, did inceſſantly preſs *Lewis* the *Twelth* to begin at leaſt ſome acts of Hoſtility. To Satisfy his Holineſs in this Matter, that Prince gave orders to his Officers to break the Peace with the

*Venc-*

*Venetians*; which accordingly were Executed by invading the Territories of that Republick at five ſeveral places in one day. The Garriſon of *Lecco* made Incurſions to the very Gates of *Bergamo*. *Chaumont* paſs'd the *Adda* with a ſmall Body of Troops, and took *Treviglio*, where he made twelve hundred Men Priſoners of War, after which he repaſs'd the River with all Expedition, for fear of falling in with the whole *Venetian* Army, which then lay Encamp'd before *Bandiera*. The Garriſon of *Lodi* made Inroads into the *Cremoneſe*, while the Garriſon of *Placenza*, which had found means to paſs the *Po* upon Pontons, Ravaged it on the other ſide: and the Marqueſs of *Mantua*, who was then in the Service of the King of *France*, and maintain'd a Company of a hundred Men at Arms for him, plundred *Caſal Maggiore*. Thus on the 15th. day of *April*, 1509. began the moſt Bloody War that ever *Italy* ſaw ſince the Devaſtations committed by the Barbarians.

*Lewis* the *Twelfth* uſed the ordinary forms for declaring War againſt the *Venetians*, the very day he began it. According to a Cuſtom very uſual then, but which has been left off for about fourſcore years, *Lewis* ſent for this effect, to *Venice*, the French King at Arms, entitled *Montjoy*, which Title the Italian Authors generally miſtake for a proper name. The King at Arms, according to his deſire was on the 16th. of *April*, introduced into the Senate, in his Coat of Arms, ſprinkled with Flower deluce's, and trimn'd with the other Ornaments of his Office. Since all Authors agree as to the Speech that the King of Arms made, and the Anſwer the *Doge* made him, there is no reaſon to doubt but the Diſcourſes of both are the ſame that were delivered. The King at Arms being ſet in the middle of the Senate, ſaid. *Hear you* Doge *of* Venice, *and all the other Inhabitants of*

*your Dominions*, Lewis *King of* France *hath commanded me to declare War againſt you, as a Faithleſs Nation; who by Force retain the Towns belonging to the* Pope, *and other Princes; which you poſſeſs unjuſtly; it having been always your Practice to Seize and take into your hands the Goods of others. But my Maſter is now come againſt you with Arms, to Recover all that from you.* To which the *Doge* made this Anſwer. *This Republick into which you are come, detains nothing unjuſtly from any Man, ſince whatever it does is agreable to Reaſon, and without Breach of Faith, to any one. If we had not obſerved that Faith inviolably to your King, even beyond what we were oblig'd to do, he would not have ſet his foot on this ſide the* Alps. *But we are ready and willing to ſhow our ſelves as Faithful as we have always been; whilſt your King is guilty of Breach of Faith, and ſurprizing Arrogance. We will, with the Divine Aid, ſuſtain that War you declare againſt us: and your Maſter will be puniſh'd, both in this World and in the other for that League which his Perverſneſs has laid on our backs!* This is Language oppoſite to the Politeneſs of our Age, which obliges Soveraigns to have a ſpecial regard to the Terms they uſe, and obſerve the greateſt Circumſpection in their Expreſſions, even when they ſpeak of Princes that are at War with them.

No ſooner had *Julius* the Second heard that the *French* Canon were playing upon the *Venetians*, then he fell a pelting of them with his Eccleſiaſtical Thunderbolts. He ſent out a terrible Monitory in form of a Bull, in which, after an ample Deduction of their Attempts upon the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and their other Uſurpations, he charged them to make Satisfaction for all their Miſdemeanors, in four and twenty days; and to reſtore ſuch parts of the Church's Dominions as they had Uſurped, and the Profits

of

of them which they had receiv'd all the time they had injuſtly poſſeſs'd them, under Pain in caſe of Diſobedience, to be Excommunicated, and actually to incur all his Cenſures: After which it ſhould be free and lawful to whoſoever would to fall upon them, to Seize upon all their Goods and Chattels, to make their Perſons Slaves: And that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould dare to aſſiſt or harbour them, without incurring the ſame Cenſures. But this flaſh of Lightning ſet nothing on Fire. The Senate, according to an Ancient Cuſtom, appeal'd from the *Pope* to a future Council: And *Venice* was even with him for the Deſertion of a few Monks, who had carried off with them to *Ferrara* a ſmall Booty conſiſting of ſuch things as they had Pillag'd from the Veſtries. The reſt of the Clergy both Secular and Regular, perſiſted in their Loyalty to their Sovereign. This was the Effect of the prudent Conduct of the *Venetian* Government; who never failed, by the moſt diſcreet and proper Methods to engage inſeparably to their Intereſt, thoſe two Bodies of the Clergy. And therefore it is, that the Eccleſiaſticks have never occaſion'd thoſe Revolts, nor form'd thoſe Conſpiracies within the *Venetian* Dominions, that ſome of them have caus'd and rais'd elſewhere. There may be Countries where the Clergy have done more Good than at *Venice*, but there is none where they have done leſs Harm.

In the mean time *Lewis* the *Twelfth* had aſſembled his Army, in which there was Six Thouſand *Swiſs*, and Twelve Thouſand *French* and *Milaneſe*: And the Gendarmery amounted to Two Thouſand Men, becauſe a great many of the *Milaneſe* Lords being fond of Contributing towards the Reuniting ſuch Parts of thoſe Dominions as had been Diſmembered, had levied Men compleatly

Armed at their own Charges. This Army had ſcarce Marched as far as *Bandiera*, when they had Intelligence, that the *Venetian* Army had Beſieged *Treviglio*, in which the Governour of *Milan* had left Fifty Spearmen, and a Thouſand Foot in Garriſon. *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, immediatly Marches to the Relief of this Place; but come too late; for it was forced to Surrender on the Ninth of *May*, at the very inſtant that *Lewis* arrived at the *Adda*. Though the Town had Capitulated, yet it was left to the Mercy of the Soldiers, and the Garriſon were ſtript. The *Venetian* Hiſtorians themſelves, particularly *Bembo* and *Juſtiniani*, own, that the Lives of the Men, and the Honour and Chaſtity of the Women were left to the Diſcretion of the Soldiers. This Inhumanity prevailed with *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, to lay aſide his naturally Benignity, and give Orders for ſome pretty ſevere Military Executions. For when an Enemy affects Cruelty in the the Beginning of a War, to be Indulgent to them, were to be Cruel to a Prince's own Subjects.

*Lewis* no ſooner knew the Fate of *Treviglio*, than he reſolved to go and Fight the Enemy's Army, though he was ſure they were Superiour in Number to his own. In order to that he muſt paſs the *Adda*; which he reſolved to do at the Bridge of *Caſſana*, though the *Venetians* were not above Five Miles from that Place. The Fear their Army was in whilſt they were Marching towards the Bridge of *Lodi*, not allowing them time to throw themſelves into a Poſt, where it had been impoſſible to force them, put the King upon this dangerous Courſe. The Event we are going to relate is of that Importance, that the Reader cannot be too fully, and particularly informed, of the Nature and Situation of the Place, where it happened. By the following Deſcription

tion the Reader will be able to Judge, throughout this Hiſtory, what the Motives were that induced the Armies to paſs the *Adda* at *Caſſana*, rather than any other Place.

*Caſſana* is Situated on the right Side of the *Adda*, upon a Height which commands the oppoſite Bank of that River. It ſtands at the End of a Bridge, adjoining to which, there is a Piece of Ground in form of a Semi-circle, and large enough to contain a little Army. This Ground is planted with Trees, and divided by Hedges, which renders it, very commodious for ſuch Troops as would Entrench themſelves there, in order to ſecure the Paſſage of other Troops that follow. Beſides the natural Advantages of this Spot of Ground, it is render'd more commodious ſtill by a Canal that covers it on the ſide of the *Ghiara d' Adda*. The Canal is twenty Foot broad, and ſix Foot deep, and incloſing this Ground in the Shape of a Bow, reduces it to an Iſland; by its receiving the Water of the *Adda* into it above *Caſſana*, and diſcharging them again below that Place. The *French* having Intelligence, that the *Venetians* were Incamp'd Five Miles from *Caſſana*, reſolved to give them Battle, in order to enter the *Ghiara d' Adda*. They did not at all doubt, but that the Enemy had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Iſland, which lyes betwen the River and the Canal, in order to hinder their paſſing by the Bridge of *Caſſana:* And the Marſhal *De Trivulze*, who was of that Country, was poſſitive that the *Venetians* were Intrench'd there. But when he underſtood that the *Venetian* Generals had overſeen themſelves, ſo far as not to poſſeſs themſelves of that Poſt, his Surprize was ſuch, that he could not forbear crying out, *To Day, Moſt Chriſtian King, you will win the Battle.*

So soon as *Lewis* the *Twelfth* had pass'd the *Adda*, he gave Orders for laying Bridges over the Canal, which incloses the Island on the side of the *Ghiara d' Adda*, and the same Day he Encamp'd his Army within Half a League of the Enemy. Some advis'd him to delay engaging them, till the Diversion the Emperour was to make should oblige them to divide their Army, which was then Superiour in Number to his. But *Lewis* gave no way to this Advice, being persuaded, that a few Troops more or less, signified little towards deciding the Victory in favour of a *French* Army, when it is led on by their King in Person. The Count *De Pitigliano* was very sensible of this, and tho' the Army he Commanded was more Numerous than that of the *French*, yet he reckon'd that he must Fight at a Disadvantage, if he drew up his Army in a Plain, against all the *French* Gendarmery, and the Multitude of Young Noblemen that attended the King in that Expedition. When the *French* offered him Battle the next Day, he declin'd it, believing it more advisable to lie Quiet in his Post; which he knew could not be forced.

The *Venetian* Army had *Rivolta* on their left. The King seeing no likelihood of a Battle, resolved to go and Attack that Place; with a Design either to bring the Enemy to a Battle, or to sink the Credit of their Arms, if they should look on and see the Place taken, without offering to relieve it. That he might not be at a Loss whatever happen'd, he kept one Part of his Army in order of Battle before the Enemies Camp, whilst he Besieged *Rivolta* with the other. Whilst the *French* Army was thus imploy'd, the Count *De Pitigliano* satisfied himself with drawing up his Troops in order of Battle upon the rising Ground they possess'd, without offering to march

march down to Relieve the Place; which was taken by Storm. *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, encourag'd by the Cowardice of the *Venetians*, reſolves to march to *Vaila*, tho' he knew that in his March the Flank of his Army muſt be expoſed to the Enemy. His Deſign was, to make himſelf Maſter of that Poſt, from whence it would be no hard Matter for him to Starve the Enemies Army, who had all their Proviſions from *Cremona*, in which the *Venetians* had made their Magazines. *Alviano* ſoon ſmell'd the Deſign of the *French*, and therefore the Reſolution was taken to prevent them, by getting to *Vaila* before them; from whence they might have an eaſy Communication with *Cremona*. What made this the more feaſible, was, that the *Venetians* might march along the Hills and riſing Grounds, and conſequently have a ſhorter March to that Place than the *French* could have by the rout they would take. The latter had no other way to go, but by the Road that leads along the *Adda*, between *Rivolta* and *Vaila*; inſomuch that they had the Bow, and the *Venetians* the String. However well laid this Project of *Alviano*'s might be, it failled of the expected Succeſs; for the Van of the *French* Army fell upon the Rear of the *Venetian*, which he Commanded, between *Vaila* and *Agnadel*, *Chaumont* and *Trivulze*, who Commanded the Van of the *French*, made them march with the greateſt Diligence; and the Country between the Two Armies being very Woody, the Enemy never perceived that the *French* were near them, before they were juſt up with them. This mightily ſurpriz'd *Alviano*, but not ſo as to put him to a Non-plus; for immediatly he ſent to the Count *De Pitigliano*, to come to his Releif, finding there was no other way to ſave the Army, but by Fighting. In the mean time, he threw his Infantry, and ſuch as were every

Moment

Moment coming in to him, into the Vineyards, and raiſed ſuch Batteries as the time would allow him upon a Bank: Planting his Gendarmery and Light Horſe on a Plain behind that Ground.

*Chaumont* having with Youthful Ardour attack'd the *Venetians*, before he had ſufficiently view'd them, was ſoon repuls'd with Loſs. His *Swiſs* were broke while they were endeavouring to make themſelveſs Maſters of the Bank, and his Horſe, while he was making them file off croſs the Vineyards, were treated very roughly by the *Venetian* Infantry. But the King came up immediatly with the main Body and Rear of the Army. It had been told him on the Way, That he might Halt if he would, that his Project was defeated, and that the *Venetians* were already Maſters of *Vaila*. All the Anſwer he return'd to this, was, Well then, we ſhall have one trouble more than we expected, which is to Diſlodge them. Immediatly he ordered the Vineyards to be Attack'd again by the *Gaſcon* Troops, and in Perſon led on the *Swiſs* again to the Bank, being all the while expoſed to the great and ſmall Shot of the Enemy. All the *Italian* Authors bear Witneſs of his extraordinary Courage on this Occaſion. Some Courtiers who were obliged in Honour to follow the King, endeavour'd to cloak their Fear by the ſpecious Pretence of Preſerving his Perſon; and they took a great deal of Pains to perſuade him of the Danger he was in, as if he had come there like a heedleſs hotheaded Spark, without knowing it. *Lewis* the *Twelfth* being no very near Relation to his Predeceſſours, had in their Reigns liv'd too Familiarly with the Courtiers not to know them throughly: And therefore all he ſaid to thoſe Cowardly Gentlemen, was, *Let thoſe who are Afraid, ſhelter themſelves behind me.*

The

The Bank was at laſt carry'd, but not before it had coſt the *French* Gendarmery a great deal of Trouble, nor had the *Gaſcons* as yet forced the Vineyard; which, conſidering the Manner how they are planted in *Lombardy*, had been a much more convenient Paſſage for the Cavalry. The Courage of the *Gaſcons* was much ſlacken'd, and they Attack'd but very faintly, till the King came in Perſon into the Field of Battle. So ſoon as he came in Sight, *La Trimouille* pointing to him cry'd out to the Soldiers: My Boys the King ſees you. At which Words the *Gaſcons*, who were Diſpirited before, reſum'd their Courage and became freſh Troops, and made ſuch a vigorous Effort, as in a Moment made them Maſters of a Ground they had been Diſputing ſo long a Time. At laſt, the Cavalry having all paſs'd, the *French* Gendarmery came up cloſe to the *Venetian* Army upon a level Ground, and ſoon put an End to the Battle. The Enemies Horſe giving Gound, the Number of their ſlain was inconſiderable; but the Slaughter of their Infantry was ſo Great, that Eight Thouſand of them fell in the Field of Battle. All the *Venetians* Baggage and Artillery was taken, and their braveſt Officers were either Kill'd or made Priſoners. Among the laſt was *Alviano* the Lieutenant General; who, though he was dangerouſly Wounded in the Action, would not ſuffer himſelf to be carried off; inſomuch, that thoſe who brought him to the King with his Face ſo beſmear'd with Blood, that it was hard to know him, aſſured that Prince, that when they took him, he was endeavouring to rally ſome of his ſhattered Troops. *Brantome*, in his Panegyrick on this General, tells a Circumſtance in his being taken Priſoner, which I think ought not to be omitted. Whilſt he was paying his Reſpect to the King after the Battle was over,

ver, they ſuddenly heard the Alarm ſounded in the *French* Army. *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, had ordered it to be done to rally his diſpers'd Soldiers. But this Prince making as if he were Surpris'd at the Noiſe, What, ſays he, Signior *Bartolomeo*, have not your Men enough of it yet? Have they a mind to try another bout? Sir, reply'd *Alviano*, who was not one of theſe *Italians*, who believed that the *French* beat their Enemies only by Chance, if there are any more Feats of Arms to be done this Day, your Men muſt Fight with one another: As for our Men, you have ſo handled them this Day, that this Fortnight to come, you need not expect to ſee their Faces. But of all the Circumſtances of this Battle, there is no one that more demonſtrates the Defeat of the *Venetian* Army, than their Faint Heartedneſs. So great was their Conſternation, that it was ſimply impoſſible to rally thoſe Cowards: Nor could they recover themſelves, or be drawn together, till they had got as far as *Breſſia*, which is Forty Miles diſtant from the Field of Battle.

This was the Iſſue of that famous Battle, that was Fought on the Fourteenth Day of *May* 1509. Which the *French* call the Battle of *Agnadel*, or the *Ghiara d' Adda*, and the *Italians* the Action of *Vaila*, or *Caſſano*. *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, according to the Ancient Cuſtom of the Kings of *France*, Ordered a Church to be Built on the Field of Battle, and having Dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, call'd it our *Lady of Victory*. This Trophey, which beſt became a *Chriſtian* Warriour, is ſtill in being, and goes by the ſame Name. It is no longer than ſince the Year 1705, that it prov'd a happy Augury to the *French*; who under the Command of the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Beat the Imperial Army in ſight of this Church.

In

In thoſe Days the *French* knew how to conquer, and how to improve their Victories. They appear'd before every Place; and wherever they came, the Gates were laid open to them. *Bergamo*, *Breſſia*, *Crema*, and all the Places of leſs Note, which lay in thoſe Parts, that they were to recover by virtue of the *League of Cambray*, received them. Moſt part of the *Venetian* Officers ſhut themſelves up in the Fortreſſes of thoſe Towns, which were reputed Places of Note, becauſe they had held out againſt long Sieges formerly. But nothing was able to ſtop a *French* Army, when he who commanded them bid them go, after the Winning of a Battel. All thoſe Strong Places yielded in a few Days: And the fancy they had of holding out had no other effect than the making a great many Noble *Venetians* Priſoners; who vainly believed, that by ſhutting themſelves up there they ſhould be in ſafety for a long time. This was a Prey the *French* panted after, becauſe of the great Ranſoms they were to receive by it. *Piccighitoni* and the Town of *Cremona* yielded likewiſe on the Firſt Summons. Only the Caſtle of *Cremona* held out for ſome time; becauſe *Zach. Contarini*, and ſome other *Venetian* Nobles, who had thrown themſelves into it, could not think of paying thoſe exceſſive Ranſoms which they knew had been exacted from their Equals. It was firmly believed that *Peſchiera* would check the Ardour of the *French*: But the beſt Fortifications cannot hold out long when they are ill defended; and therefore it was that this Place was taken by Storm, Two Days after it was beſieged. *Lewis* the *Twelfth* reveng'd, with the utmoſt Rigour, at *Peſchiera*, the injury that had been done him at *Treviglio*, againſt the Laws of War. He did not practiſe his uſual Maxims of Clemency upon this Garriſon; for he put

put them all to the ſword, except One Perſon, who for being of a higher Rank than the reſt was hang'd over the Battlements of the Caſtle. Though the Hiſtorians are unanimous in the Relation of this Fact, yet they diſagree as to the Name and Dignity of this unhappy Man, who loſt his Life for the Faults of his Country-men. Thus the King of *France*, in the ſpace of Fifteen Days, conquered above what fell to his ſhare by the Treaty of *Cambray*.

The *Pope*, for his part, had ſent into the Field, an Army which at that time might be call'd conſiderable. It was Thirteen Thouſand ſtrong, of which Four Hundred were Spear-men. It was commanded by the Duke of *Ferrara*, in quality of Great Standard-bearer of the Church; a Dignity which the *Pope* had lately conferr'd upon him, and which was not then Hereditary to any Family, as it is now to that of *Farneſe*. He had under him, as Lieutenant General, the now Duke of *Urbino*, *Fran. Maria de Rovero*, *Julius* the *Second*'s Nephew. *Franciſco de Caſtel del Rio*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Pavia*, accompany'd the Army in quality of Legate. The Cardinal was a Man of great Merit; but one who ſerv'd the Church better than he edify'd it. *Julius* the *Second* having an entire confidence in him, had intruſted him with the chief Authority in his Army. His *Holineſs* was not ſo fond of the Duke of *Ferrara* as to depend ſecurely on him; and his Nephew had not experience enough to be put at the head of any great Enterprize. Till the Battel of *Agnadel* there was no great Exploits done by this Army; but the Succeſs of that Action prov'd as much to its Advantage as if it had won the day. All the Towns of *Romagna* threw open their Gates to it, and the Caſtle of *Ravenna* was the only Place it had to take.

The

The Senate of *Venice* as little fear'd the Diſaſter that befel them at *Agnadel*, as they had before expected the Concluſion of the *League of Cambray*. They were taken up about ſettling the Funds for maintaining the War; and the meaſures they took were proper and juſt; every Man being tax'd in proportion to his Incomes. There being nothing that contributes ſo much to the Setting up and Continuance of that Inequality of Impoſitions, which is ſo fatal to Kingdoms and States, as the Vanity of thoſe Perſons, who would raiſe their Figure in the World, by exempting themſelves from a due Share in the Publick Charges; the Senate made ſeveral Laws, by which Brands of Infamy were fix'd upon thoſe that laid claim to this Criminal Diſtinction. *Lewis* the *Twelfth* had baniſh'd out of his Dominions all the Subjects of the Republick that were ſettled in them. But the Senate wiſely conſidering, that if they paid him in his own coin, they ſhould at once ſend both Men and Money to the Enemy out of their Dominions, and deprive themſelves of the Product of ſo much Induſtry, and the Improvement of ſo much Money as thoſe People were Maſters of, uſed a quite different Politick. They ſtrictly enjoin'd, under the ſevereſt Penalties, all *Lewis*'s Subjects, that were ſettled any where in the *Venetians* Dominions, to ſtay in them, and to follow their ſeveral Profeſſions and Employments as they had done formerly. But how wiſe ſoever thoſe Precautions were, and how ſufficient ſoever they might be to furniſh ſuitable Supply and Relief in ordinary Misfortunes, yet they were no way proportionable to the Diſaſter that had now befallen the Republick.

The News of the Overthrow of the Republick's Army at *Vaila*, had been ſpread over all *Venice*, long before any one would believe it: But the

the Confirmation of that fatal News coming from ſo many different Quarters, left no room for further Doubt. The ſudden Accounts of their particular Loſſes, ſome of which came to their ears every Day; and at laſt the general Defeat of the whole Army being confirm'd, beyond all poſſibility of doubting, had prevented all the artificial Relations that could be made of this Matter, in order to keep the People in heart, who could not be prevail'd with to believe that the Republick had any Troops left, ſince there was no manner of ſtop put to the Enemies Progreſs. By the Conſternation the City of *Venice* was in at that time, one would almoſt have thought that the Enemy were actually ſtorming it. That People had formerly ſeen the *Genoueſe* come and burn their Ships in their very Harbour: But this Mortification was eaſily bore; becauſe they had ſtill in ſtore every thing neceſſary for fitting out Fleets, able to make head againſt thoſe of the Enemy; and beſides, at that time they were accuſtom'd to War, and the Misfortunes that often attend it. For a long time before, the Republick had made no war but in their Enemy's Country, and that with Succeſs: But now the Caſe was ſo far alter'd, that they fancy'd they ſaw on the one hand *Lewis* XII. at the head of a *French* Army, conquering their Dominions in the *Terra Firma*, as faſt as he could march over them: And on the other, they had the diſmal Proſpect of Seditions among themſelves, in a Republick where the Inequality of Condition among its Subjects is ſuch, that one part always commands, while the other, many of whom are the Relations of thoſe, are forc'd to obey; though the Diſtinction between them often conſiſts in nothing but ſome outward and trifling Ornaments. In this general Conſternation,

Conſternation, the Publick Calamity was heighten'd by the particular Misfortunes of Private Perſons.

The Senate was often aſſembled, without being able to reſolve on any thing, beſides that of meeting again next Day. In ſhort, the chief Subject of their Deliberations now was, how to prevent Tumult and Sedition, and how to put the City in a poſture of defence againſt the Enemy. In order to render their Navigation more flouriſhing, they had given a privilege to *Venetian* Ships, excluſive of all others, to bring all ſorts of Proviſions to *Venice*; but this Privilege was ſuſpended for a time, and Strangers were allowed to bring what they would. The Senate ſent to review, almoſt on the Shore of their *Lakes*, the terrify'd Remains of their Army, and Re-inforc'd them with ſuch other Troops as they could draw together. The Situation of the Place was ſuch, that the *French* could not fall upon them, and put them to flight; and they were ſo poſted, that they could both defend the City of *Venice* againſt the Enemy, and prevent or check Tumults and Seditions within it; which laſt the Senate was more afraid of, than of the Enemy without. *Lagune*

In the mean time the Duke of *Ferrara*, taking advantage of the Diſorder the *Venetian* Affairs were now in, did in two Days recover all that the Republick had Piece-meal taken from his Predeceſſours: And the Marqueſs of *Mantua*'s Troops enter'd *Aſola* and *Lunato*, without any Oppoſition. The Senate deſpairing of being able to preſerve any part of their Dominions in the *Terra Firma*, reſolved to abandon that rich Country, it being now open on all hands. They thought, that if Fortune ſhould ever ſmile on them again, the People would return the more readily to their Obedience, becauſe they would have no ground to think that their Old Maſters

had any quarrel with them for what had paſs'd; whereas if they ſhould oblige them to endure deſperate Sieges, and to concur in a Defenſive War, which they thought impoſſible to maintain, it would provoke them to Diſobey and Revolt. The Fear of being Chaſtis'd ſome time or other for their Revolting, would make them look upon their Old Maſters as their mortal Enemies, and their Yoke as inſupportable as the greateſt Misfortune that could befal them.

Beſides, the *Venetians* were afraid, that the *French*, under the pretence of conquering ſuch Places as fell to the Emperour's ſhare, who had not yet drawn together an Army ſufficient to attack the Republick, might take poſſeſſion of them, and keep them as their own. The *Venetians* thought, that ſince they muſt loſe thoſe Places, it were much better for them, that they fell into the hands of the Emperour, than into the King of *France*'s. For the Spoil of their Republick being divided between thoſe two Princes, they would have two Neighbours inſtead of one: And that they had ground to hope, that ſome time or other, by reaſon of the Quarrels that muſt neceſſarily happen between thoſe Neighbours of theirs, a favourable Occaſion would offer for their recovering what their preſent Misfortunes had forc'd them to part with. Theſe were the Motives, as the *Venetians* themſelves ſay, that obliged them to abandon the *Terra Firma* ſo readily, ſince they might have preſerved it, if they had made but half the Efforts for defending it, which they did for recovering it. What happened afterwards gave ſpecious colours to this Excuſe: But whether the Senate of *Venice* made thoſe judicious Reflections at that time, or whether the *Venetian* Hiſtorians have made them ſince, muſt be left to the Reader's Judgment. The Hiſtorians of other

ther Nations impute the *Venetians* abandoning their *Terra Firma*, which had coſt them ſo much Trouble to acquire, to a more obvious Cauſe, that is, The Conſternation the Senate was in, and the Terrour they were under of the City's being beſieg'd by the Enemy; or, which was as bad, the Citizens running into Tumult and Sedition. There is no doubt but that the Conſternation the *Venetians* were then in, was very great, however they may have diſown'd it ſince, and whatever Methods they may have uſed to juſtify their Conduct, and maintain the Reputation of their Government. They have left no ſtone unturn'd to perſuade both Foreigners and their own Country-men, that amidſt all theſe Misfortunes, the Senate retain'd its uſual Sedateneſs and Steadineſs: And that that intrepid Aſſembly kept its blood always cool; without ever mixing the leaſt Degree of Fear with their Deliberations; and always ſquared their Conduct by the Rules of the moſt wholeſome Prudence, having always the moſt remote Conſequences of their Proceedings in their view.

Let this be as it will, the Officers of the Republick had Orders ſent them to ſet all the Towns of the *Terra Firma* at full liberty, and to diſcharge them from the Oath of Fidelity they had taken to Saint *Mark*. In a little time after, all thoſe Towns ſwore allegiance to the Emperour, except *Treviſo*, which would be a *Venetian* Town, whether the *Venetians* would or no. The Duke of *Brunſwick*, who was General of the Emperour's Forces, having, upon the News of the *French* King's Succeſs recovered *Friuli*, had nothing to employ him now but to take poſſeſſion of ſuch Towns as ſent to invite him.

The Commanders of thoſe Ports that the Republick poſſeſs'd in the Kingdom of *Naples*, were

ordered by the Senate to surrender them to *Ferdinand*. He that commanded in the Castle of *Ravenna* received Orders to consign it to the *Pope*: And of all their Dominions in *Italy*, the Republick reserved no more to its self than the City
*Lagune* of *Venice*, and the Land adjoining to their *Lakes*.

Had the *Venetians* themselves as firmly believed, as they are positive in affirming it to others,
*Lagune* that their *Lakes* serve for an unsurmountable Rampart and Defence for their City, all their Fears of a Siege would have vanish'd. But it seem'd, by the measures they took at that time, that they still apprehended some further Accidents in *Italy*, even when they had nothing to lose but the City of *Venice*. They sent to the *Pope* and the King of *Aragon* desiring a Peace; and *Anton. Justiniani* was sent the same Errand to the Emperour. The Speech this Minister is said to have made to *Maximilian*, has been the Subject of so much Dispute, and has made so great a noise in the World, that it might justly be reckon'd an unpardonable Omission not to insert it at large in this Place: And therefore I give the Reader a faithful Translation of it from the Original *Latin*, in which Tongue *Justiniani* delivered it to the Emperour.

" It was with great reason that the Ancients " maintain'd, that the greatest and most glo- " rious of all Victories was that which a Man " obtain'd over himself. The Laurels such a Vi- " ctory gives never fade; and the Lustre they " cast on the Brows that wear them, far exceed " that of Triumphal Crowns and Diadems. *Sci- " pio Africanus* is more extoll'd for overcoming " himself, than for subduing *Carthage*, and conque- " ring *Africa*. It was by such Actions that a Lit- " tle *Macedonian* King raised his Glory above all " the Kings that had been before him. The

" Vows

" Vows which *Darius* made for *Alexander* his E-
" nemy, and which reflect more Honour on that
" Conquerour than all his brighteſt Victories,
" were purely owing to his Moderation. The
" Unfortunate King of *Perſia*, ſtruck with the
" Moderation which *Alexander*, though Young and
" Victorious, ſhew'd to his Queen and Family,
" whom Victory had given him the abſolute Diſ-
" poſal of, ſtretched out his Hands to Heaven,
" and earneſtly implored it, that ſince it was
" not the Will of the Gods that the Crown of
" *Perſia* ſhould remain on his Head, that it might
" be put on that of ſo gentle an Enemy and
" ſo generous a Conquerour. The Great *Caſar*,
" the Firſt of your Predeceſſours, whoſe Vertues
" as well as Fortune you inherit, was, for his Cle-
" mency, and his Forgetting of Injuries, juſtly
" honoured with a Place among the Gods. The
" *Romans*, whoſe Succeſſour you alone are now,
" and whoſe Majeſty reſides in your Perſon, had
" no other Bounds to their Empire, than thoſe
" of the then known World; yet the Clemen-
" cy and Moderation, the Juſtice and Impartiality
" of that People, gain'd them more Subjects than
" the Valour of their Troops, and the Bravery
" and Conduct of their Officers.

" The Fate of *Venice* is in your hands. If you
" will reflect on the Frailty of Humane Greatneſs;
" if you will uſe with Indulgence the Power that
" Fortune has given you; if you will prefer
" that real and ſolid Glory, which you may gain
" by giving us Peace, to the Uncertainty of glit-
" tering Victories; what room can there be left
" for doubting, that the Name of *Maximilian*
" will be for ever had in honour, and that he
" will juſtly be enrolled among thoſe illuſtrious
" Perſons, who can never be nam'd without Re-
" ſpect. It were needleſs to have recourſe to

" former Times, for Evidences to prove the In-
" conſtancy of Fortune, or the Uncertainty of E-
" vents; or to demonſtrate to how many Chan-
" ges, to what hid and unforeſeen Dangers and
" Accidents, every thing that may be call'd a
" Humane Settlement is liable. The miſerable
" and diſconſolate Condition of the Republick of
" *Venice* does more than ſufficiently prove it.
" Not many Days have paſs'd, ſince that rich,
" powerful, and illuſtrious State, reverenc'd by its
" Neighbours, and extoll'd by diſtant Nations,
" was the Admiration and the Aſtoniſhment of
" the World. To day, this very Republick, by
" the Loſs of One Battel, by receiving One ſlight
" Blow, is ſunk into ſuch a State of Miſery and
" Contempt, and ſo alter'd and deform'd are its
" Looks, that neither Friends nor Foes can ea-
" ſily know it. Its Glory is tarniſh'd, its Do-
" minions tore in pieces: It is at a loſs for e-
" very thing, even for Projects. It ſeems to have
" forgot that for a long time it was a Warlike
" and Victorious State. But the *French* are mighti-
" ly out in their Accounts, if they reckon that
" our Ruin is owing to their Arms. It is well
" known, how our Anceſtours, during a long
" Courſe of ſeveral Wars, eſpecially that they
" maintain'd for many Years againſt that power-
" ful Enemy of *Chriſtendome*, ſuſtain'd Loſſes great-
" er than the Defeat of their Army at *Vaila*,
" without being daunted; and bore up againſt
" greater Misfortunes than that, without ſinking
" under them. We ſhould have recovered our
" ſelves again after this Fall, as our Anceſtours
" have done in the like Caſes; like them we
" ſhould have beat down thoſe that made us
" trip; were we not cruſh'd in pieces by the im-
" menſe Greatneſs of Your Imperial Majeſty. Our
" Ruin is compleated by the Valour of that Na-

" tion

" tion which you lead on againſt us. No Hopes
" of Victory are now left us: Nor can we flat-
" ter our ſelves ſo far, as to fancy we ſhall e-
" ver dare to diſpute the Combat. Henceforth
" we muſt lay down our Arms, as too heavy
" for our Hands; and look for our Safety no
" where but in the Clemency and Goodneſs of
" one of the Lively Images of the God of Mercy.
" In the Name of the *Doge*, of the Great Coun-
" cil, and of the People of *Venice*, I do humbly
" beg, ſupplicate, and conjure Your Majeſty, to
" caſt an eye of pity on us, and to ſtretch out
" a charitable hand to our afflicted and diſcon-
" ſolable State. Preſcribe what Conditions of
" Peace you pleaſe, we will readily ſubſcribe them.
" Nay more, we will hold and repute them Juſt
" and Honourable, and as ſuch we will obſerve
" them. Were we worthy to pronounce our
" own Sentence, we would readily abandon all
" the Encroachments and Uſurpations our Ance-
" ſtours ever made, either in the Empire or in
" your Hereditary Countries. And to the end
" theſe Offers may be the more ſuitable to our
" preſent Circumſtances, we are willing to add
" to what we have offered all that the Repub-
" lick has poſſeſs'd on the *Terra Firma*; and
" whatever Right and Title we had to thoſe Do-
" minions ſhall be entirely reſign'd to Your Ma-
" jeſty, as to our Rightful Lord and Soveraign,
" We will pay every Year to Your Majeſty and
" your Succeſſours a Tribute of Fifty Thouſand
" Crowns of Gold. Finally, it is our full Pur-
" poſe and Reſolution to give entire Obedience
" to all your Commands, Laws, Decrees, and
" Ordinances. All the Return we demand is on-
" ly, that you would be pleas'd to defend and
" protect us from the Inſolence of thoſe, who
" were lately our Allies, but now our moſt mor-

" tal Enemies. They have nothing leſs in their
" View and Deſign than burying us and our
" Name in perpetual Oblivion. Would you ſhel-
" ter and protect us from their mercileſs Hands,
" we ſhould ever look upon you as our Father,
" and the Founder of our City; and always
" own our ſelves your People. Our Annals
" ſhould be filled with your Praiſes; and our
" Children ſhould be early taught to ſing them.

" It would be no ſmall Addition to your Re-
" nown to have it ſaid, that you were the Firſt
" Prince, that ever obliged the *Venetians* humbly
" to implore your Favour and Protection: And that
" the firſt time they ever ſtruck and lower'd their
" Haughtineſs it was to you. We reverence
" you, we look on you as our Tutelar Angel.
" Had the Almighty freed our Anceſtours from
" that fatal Itch of meddling in the Affairs of
" Princes, our Republick, inſtead of that Ignomi-
" ny it now labours under, might this day have
" eclips'd the Glory of all others. Thoſe Trea-
" ſures of Glory we had been heaping up du-
" ring a *Series* of ſo many Victories, are all va-
" niſhed in a Moment; and we are become the
" Contempt and Scorn of other Nations.

" But, to end my Diſcourſe as I began it, I
" will beg leave to ſay, that it is in your pow-
" er, Great SIR, by excuſing and pardoning your
" poor *Venetians*, to adorn your Sacred Head
" with more verdant and laſting Laurels, than e-
" ver Conquerour did by his brighteſt Victories.
" The Glory it is now in your power to cloath
" your ſelf with, will paſs down to the lateſt Po-
" ſterity without any Diminution; being above
" the reach, and independent on any Accident.
" Succeeding Ages will celebrate you as the
" moſt Gracious of all Princes; and as ſuch, will
" raiſe your Memory above that of any Mortal.

" As

" As for us, we will *eternally* ſound your Praiſe;
" and we will ever gratefully own, that it is
" to the Greatneſs of *Maximilian*'s Soul that we
" owe our Breath, and that we are ſtill of the
" Number of the Living.

This Speech not only demonſtrates that the *Venetians* deſpair'd of ſaving their Republick from Ruin, but alſo affords fair, and no inconſiderable Pretences to the Empire and the Houſe of *Auſtria* in particular. And therefore it is, that the *Venetian* Hiſtorians would perſuade the World that it is ſuppoſititious, and cry out loudly againſt *Guicciardin*, as the Author and Forger of it. That Author, on the other hand, aſſures us, that he relates nothing but Truth, and poſitively declares, that this Piece is authentick, and delivered by him without any other Alteration, than that of turning into *Italian* what *Juſtiniani* delivered in *Latin*.

*Giov. Baptiſta Leoni* produces a great many Reaſons for proving *Guicciardin*'s Forgery. He ſays, That he has ſeen the Embaſſadour *Juſtiniani*'s Inſtructions, and that they do not give him any power to make ſuch Propoſitions as are contain'd in that pretended Diſcourſe: And ſays further, That there is ſtill to be ſeen at *Venice*, an inconteſtable Evidence of that Miniſters having made no Propoſals to *Maximilian*; and that he did not ſo much as enter upon that Negotiation for which he was ſent into *Germany*. The Evidence he means, is *Juſtiniani*'s Credentials when he went on that Embaſſy; which he ſays, were in his time, in the hands of that Embaſſadour's Heirs at *Venice*; whereas they would have been lodged in the Emperour's *Secretary*'s *Office*, had *Juſtiniani* been admitted to negotiate, and exerciſe his Function; which muſt have commenced upon his preſenting of thoſe Letters of Credence. But it is evident,

dent, ſays *Leoni*, from all the Hiſtorians, that neither the Emperour nor his Miniſters of State would vonchſafe to hear what *Juſtiniani* had to ſay.

*Pet. Juſtiniani*, Author of one of the beſt Hiſtories of *Venice*, goes into a more particular detail of this Matter than *Leoni*— He ſays, that he has ſeen among the Archives of the Republick, the very Inſtructions that were given *Juſtiniani* when he was ſent on this Embaſſy. He adds, That by thoſe Inſtructions he was impowered, in order to facilitate the Treaty, to make no other offer than that of Fifty Thouſand Crowns a Year, for defraying the Charges of the War, and that only for the term of Ten Years; whereas, according to *Guicciardin*, he made the Emperour an offer of the aforeſaid Sum, to be annually and perpetually paid by way of Homage. The Hiſtorian *Juſtiniani*'s Reflection upon this, is, That the *Venetians* having renounced the Preſervation of their Dominions on the *Terra Firma*, had nothing more to fear from the *League of Cambray*, ſince their Fleets were much ſuperiour to thoſe of the Allies: And therefore, that it was altogether needleſs for the *Venetians* to proſtrate themſelves ſo low at the feet of a Prince, in whoſe power it was not to do their Republick any more harm.

*Paulo Paruta*, and the other *Venetian* Writers who have thought it proper to take notice of this Diſcourſe of *Juſtiniani*, agree with *Leoni* and *Pet. Juſtiniani*. The moſt modeſt Epithets any of theſe Gentlemen give *Guicciardin*, is, that of Fanatick, and ſhameleſs Calumniator.

The Cardinal *De la Queva*, who is generally thought to be the Author of a Book intitled, *Lo Squitinio della Liberta Veneta*; Or, *An Inquiry into the Original Liberty of Venice*, makes great uſe and advantage

advantage of *Juſtiniani*'s Speech to the Emperour *Maximilian*. Among other Arguments, he makes uſe of it to prove his Paradox, That *Venice* is not a Free-born State; but that it has often been under the obedience of the Emperours: And that the *Venetians* themſelves agree in the Truth of this, however contrary to the received Opinion of all *Europe*. The Cardinal, leſt he ſhould be charged of building on a Sandy Foundation, uſes the utmoſt Efforts of his Wit and Argument to reeſtabliſh the Authority of *Juſtiniani*'s Diſcourſe, and to refute the *Venetian* Authors, who have endeavour'd to prove it Suppoſititious. He alledges in the firſt place, that the *Council of Ten*, who were careful to have things of leſs moment ſtruck out, becauſe they ſeem'd to injure the Dignity of their Government, never gave any orders for keeping out *Juſtiniani*'s Speech, though there had been many Editions of *Guicciardin*'s Hiſtory publiſhed within the *Venetian* Dominions. That the Embaſſadour *Juſtiniani*'s Relations, who were Men that always diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the Common-wealth, did never complain of fathering a Diſcourſe on their Kinſman which he had never made or delivered. That the Inſtructions which *Leoni* ſays he had ſeen, were either not ſuch as he relates them to be, or that they were only *Juſtiniani*'s publick Inſtructions; beſides which, there are uſually given to Embaſſadours, in Negotiations of this importance, others which are to be kept ſecret. As for the Credentials, which were ſaid to be ſtill in the hands of *Juſtiniani*'s Heirs, they were probably no more than Duplicates; which reaſonably may be ſuppos'd to be made by thoſe who are going upon any Negotiation, eſpecially if they are to paſs through Countries where they are in danger to be robb'd. Beſides, it would ſeem by the *Venetian* Authors,

Authors, That *Juſtiniani* was ſent Twice to the Emperour's Court after the Battle of *Agnadel*. For though thoſe Authors ſay, that he was not admitted to treat the firſt time he went, yet they ſay nothing of his not being allowed to Negotiate at *Lintz*, the ſecond time he was ſent to *Maximilian*; and it might be this laſt time, as the Cardinal ſays, that *Juſtiniani* deliver'd his Speech. The Account *Juſtiniani*'s own Country-Men give of his ſecond Commiſſion and Journey to the Emperour, would induce one to believe, that he really delivered this Diſcourſe as *Guicciardin* relates it. The Author of the *Enquiry* further ſays, That according to what the *French* Ambaſſadour ſaid the Year following in a full Diet, there was no Room left for doubting, That the *Venetians* had cry'd Mercy, and beg'd Peace on their Knees.

The Author of the *Enquiry* does with admirable Subtlety and Addreſs, anſwer that Objection of the *Venetian* Authors, That *Guicciardin* was the only Perſon that pretended to know, or took any Notice of this Harangue of *Juſtiniani*. This able Writer ſpeaks very diſcreetly about the Reſpect that is due to *Guicciardin*, both for his Perſonal Merit, and his Noble Birth, and becauſe he took Care to publiſh the Hiſtory of his own Time, before he died. *De Queva* endeavours by very ſpecious Reaſons to juſtifie him from the Suſpicion of ſo bold a Fiction; which would far exceed thoſe little harmleſs Liberties which Hiſtorians uſually take, when they put what Words they pleaſe in the Mouths of the Perſons they Write of. This Fiction would have been an abominable Impoſture, and ſuch as muſt have covered *Guicciardin* with Shame and Diſgrace. Had the Cardinal *De Queva* Written his Book ſome Years latter, he might have uſed other Means than Arguments

Arguments to Vindicate *Guicciardin*'s Sincerity, and to Refute the *Venetian* Author's Argument from the Silence of other Writers, with regard to this Matter. In the Year 1613, *Jac. Treterus*, Counſellor of State to the Duke of *Pomerania*, publiſh'd the Harangue of *Ant. Juſtiniani* in *Latin*, as an Original Piece: And at the ſame time gives an Account by what Means he recovered it.

The Cardinal *De la Queva* did not think it worth while to anſwer *Pet. Juſtiniani*, tho' his Book had been Publiſh'd a long time before the Cardinal's *Enquiry*. He induſtriouſly avoids making any Mention of this Hiſtorian, either for refuting ſuch Reaſons as are peculiar to him, or to take any Advantage of what he owns. A Talent the Cardinal was Maſter of beyond any Man alive. *La Queva* had his own Reaſons for pretending Ignorance of what the Hiſtorian *Juſtiniani* had ſaid relating to the pretended Diſcourſe of the Ambaſſadour his Kinſman. One of the Cardinal's moſt ſeducing Reaſons is, That none of the *Juſtiniani*'s ever exclaim'd againſt this Impoſture, as being Forged to the Prjudice of *Juſtinani* the Ambaſſadour. But this Fact is contradicted by the Complaints of *Juſtiniani* the Hiſtorian.

Two Authors have Written againſt the Book call'd, *The Enquiry into the Original Liberty of Venice*; One of whom was an *Italian*, the other a *Hollander*. The former is a *Genouez* call'd *Raphael De la Torre*, well enough known by his other politick Performances. He ſays, That he will not diſpute with the Author of the *Enquiry*, whether the Diſcourſe in Queſtion was really delivered by *Juſtiniani* or no; but ſays, That ſuppoſing it Authentick, yet the Enemies of the Original Liberty of *Venice* will not be able to draw any

ſolid

ſolid Concluſion from it. After one has read the Contents of *Juſtiniani*'s Harangue, it is hard to forbear Condemning this *Genouez*'s Arguments, even before one Reads them; and after they are read, one will hardly repent of his prepoſſeſſion.

The *Dutchman* that has Written againſt this *Enqury* is *Theodore Graſwinkel*, a Lawyer of *Delf*, a Man very well known for the many valuable Books he has Written upon the Common Law of Nations. I cannot forbear telling, that he ſet up for Champion for the Republick of *Venice*. Every body knows, That when *Victor Amadeo* the Firſt, Duke of *Savoy*, took the Title of Royal Highneſs, that this Innovation occaſioned many Conteſts between the Houſe of *Savoy* and other Potentates, eſpecially between that Houſe, and the Republick of *Venice*. Father *Monod* having publiſh'd a Treatiſe in Favour of the Duke of *Savoy's* Title, which made a mighty Noiſe, *Graſwinkel* was one of thoſe who Wrote againſt him: And refuted ſo fully what Father *Monod* had advanced, that he left no Room for a Reply. At leaſt no Reply appear'd till about Three Score Years after *Graſwinkel's* Anſwer; and then Monſieur *Le Preſident D' Echeraine*, who is Author of One that came out then, thought it adviſeable, to change the State of the Queſtion, and to begin his Book, with renouncing moſt Part of Father *Menod's* Propoſitions. But though *Granſwinkel*, has in his Book *De Jure præcedentiæ*, &c. *Concerning the Right of Precedency between the Republick of* Venice *and the Houſe of* Savoy, ſhow'd himſelf a Champion for that Republick, yet he poſitively Affirms, that it is not out of Favour, or any Obligation to them, but meerly for the Honour and Reverence he has for Truth, that he took up his Pen in Defence of it. He fully

Refutes

Refutes the Cardinal *De la Queva's* Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the Credit of *Juſtiniani's* Harangue, and alledges, That nothing can be more plain than the Spuriouſneſs of that Piece. As able a Writer as he was, yet he does not ſeem, on this Occaſion, either to have done any Diſcredit to his Adverſary, nor ſatisfied his Reader. There is more of Ornament than Argument in his Reaſonings; and it is the Opinion of thoſe that are not of his Country, That however capable he may be to Defend a good Cauſe, yet he has fallen ſhort in his Pleading in this Caſe. *Conringius*, in his Book *De Finibus Imperii*, &c. gives it plainly againſt him, and ſays, That he has not Refuted the Argument of the Author he pretends to Anſwer. This famous *German* Lawyer has, in his forecited Book, inſerted *Juſtiniani's* Harangue as an inconteſtable Piece; but by an Overſight, which no body that knows his Inadvertency will wonder at, he has Tranſcribed the *Latin* Tranſlation in *Guicciardin*, by *Cælius Secundus*, inſtead of giving the Original. *Conringius's* Opinion in this Matter, however Partial he may ſeem againſt the *Italians*, ought not to be laid aſide before it be examin'd. The *Venetians* have no Reaſon to complain of his Equity; for though the Deſign of his Book is to make every thing that falls into his Pen dependant on the Empire, yet as to the Original Liberty of *Venice*, and its perpetual Independance, he is not of the ſame Mind with the Cardinal *De la Queva*.

Whether this famous Harangue was Spurious or Genuine, this is certain, that it had no Effect; and *Juſtiniani* returned to *Venice* without any Succeſs in his Embaſſy. Nor was the *Pope* more exorable than the Emperour. Upon the evacuating the Caſtle of *Ravenna*, he ordered the Garriſon and Officers too of the Republick to be made

made Prisoners. The *Venetian* Authors say, That the Garrison having Capitulated, in Obedience to the Senate's Orders, to march out Bag and Baggage, the *Pope's* Officers, contrary to Agreement, made them all Prisoners of War. Other Authors relate, That nothing was done in this Matter contrary to the Use and Custom of War, and that the Garrison being reduced to Extremity, were forced to Surrender themselves Prisoners of War.

*Julius* the *Second* being now in Possession of all that he design'd to recover from the *Venetians*, express'd a great deal of Haughtiness and Disdain towards them, when the Cardinals *Grimani* and *Cornaro*, came to demand of him, in the Name of their Country, a Relaxation of his Censures, upon the Republicks having restored within the Term of Four and Twenty Days, all they had possess'd belonging to the Church. He stifly refus'd to revoke his Censures, and would not so much as suffer the Ambassadours, who were sent to receive his Benediction, to come into his Presence. He alledg'd that the *Venetians* had not yet offered all the Satisfaction that was due to him: For besides the Territories of the Church which they had unjustly possess'd themselves of, they ought to have restored all the Fruits and Profits of them which they had received during their Possession. That for the full Accomplishment of his Monitory, they must further give Satisfaction for the inconsiderate Attempts they had made upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction: And that they were not to expect any Indulgence or Relief from *Rome*, till they had executed the Conditions of his Bull in every Point.

The

The Senate was equally ſurpriz'd and incenc'd at the Cruelty which *Julius* the *Second* expreſs'd againſt a Republick, which was ſufficiently Humbled already, and to which he ow'd his Tripple Crown. *Bembo* tells us, that the Senate was ſo touch'd with his Severity and Ingratitude, that they flew out into all manner of Invectives againſt him, upon the Reading their Ambaſſadour's Diſpatches from *Rome*. *Mark Loredano*, the *Doge's* Son, moved that the Senate ſhould immediatly ſend an Ambaſſadour to the *Ottoman* Court to demand Succour and Aſſiſtance *againſt that Executioner of Mankind, who impiouſly aſſumed the Title of their Common Father*. His Motion was ſo much Applauded by many of the Senators, that it had well nigh paſs'd into a Decree of the Senate: Had not ſome of the Wiſer ſort mitigated the Paſſion, and reſtored thoſe hot Spirits to the Uſe of their cooler Reaſon: And ſo the Senate ſquared their Reſolutions, not by their Indignation againſt His Holineſs, but by the preſent Situation of their Affairs. The Unanimity of the Senate of *Venice* was the chief Cauſe of that Republick's Safety amidſt the terrible Dangers they were then in. Paſſion and Heat ſeem'd to be baniſh'd from that Body. They took their Reſolutions, not only with the greateſt Integrity, but even with as much Speed and Secrecy as are to be found in the Cabinet Councils of Princes: And the Execution of thoſe Reſolutions, though often committed to Perſons that had given their Opinions againſt them, were performed with as much Fidelity and Expedition, as if they had been the Orders of the moſt imperious and abſolute Maſter.

The Pride and Haughtineſs of *Julius* the *Second*, not being yet fully Satisfied, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the low Eſtate the *Venetians* were

reduced to, to Humble them ſtill more. However Mortifying it was to give His Holineſs full Satisfaction, yet they thought, as Affairs then ſtood, it was their wiſeſt Courſe to do it, and therefore ſome few Days after, the *Pope* received Letters from the *Doge*, expreſſing an intire Submiſſion without Reſerve. He beg'd of His Holineſs, that the Six Ambaſſadours which the Republick had ſent to deſire Abſolution from the Eccleſiaſtcal Cenſures it had incurr'd, might have the Honour to Kiſs his Feet, and to give him the utmoſt Satisfaction he could Deſire.

*Julius*'s Anger being thus intirely Satisfied, he began to Reaſon with himſelf in cool Blood, and to reflect on the dangerous Conſequences of a League which he had fram'd to gratify his Reſentment. The Anſwer he returned to the *Doge*'s Letters was in a Strain becoming a Relenting Father to a Penitent Son, begging Oblivion of and Pardon for his paſt Offences. Nay further, notwithſtanding the Inſtances and Sollicitations of his Allies, repreſenting how contrary ſuch Proceedings were to the Treaty of *Cambray*, he called a Conſiſtory, and therein propoſed the Admiſſion of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadours: And ſpoke of that Republick in Fatherly Terms, contrary to the Strain he had uſed for a long time before. The Cardinals adviſed him to do it, and he followed their Opinion, it being ſuitable to his own.

Great Afflictions made ſmall Comforts very Senſible. This behaviour of the *Pope* began to put New Life into the *Venetians*; and that was Cheriſh'd and Improv'd by the generous Procedure of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*. This Prince Religiouſly forbearing to Appropriate to himſelf any Part of that which fell to *Maximilian's* Share by the Treaty, ſent the Deputies of *Verona*, who had

had brought him the Keys of their City, to the Ambaſſadours of that Prince. *Lewis* according to *Mezeray* and other good Hiſtorians, did not advance ſo far as *Verona*; however ſome *French* Hiſtorians have related that he Marched to the very Brink of the Lake of *Venice*, and ordered whole Volleys of Canon to be Fired at the City of *Venice*.

The Inhabitants of *Verona* and *Padua*, and, after their Example, thoſe of *Vicenza*, took an Oath of Fidelity to *Maximilian*. The *Treviſans*, on the contrary, drove away thoſe who had come to receive the ſame Oath of them: And the *Venetians* perceiving the Calamities that threaten'd them, ſent Troops thither.

Next to the Moderation of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, nothing contributed ſo much to the Reviving of the *Venetian's* Spirits, as the Supineneſs of *Maximilian*; whoſe very Name till then had been Dreaded in *Italy*. Though this Prince had, according to the Treaty of *Cambray*, ſolemnly Engaged to open the Campaign before the Expiration of Fourty Days, reckoning from the Day that *France* began the Rupture with the *Venetians*, yet he choſe rather to ſit ſtill at *Inſpruck*, and do nothing. It was not for want of Money; for he had received more than was Neceſſary to defray the Charges of the Campaign. *Lewis* the *Twelfth* had already paid him the Hundred Thouſand Crowns of Gold, which he owed him for his Inveſtiture in the Fief of *Milan*. The *Pope* too had given him a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Crowns, partly out of the Chamber, and partly out of the Money that had been depoſited in *Germany*, for carrying on the War againſt the *Infidels*. But moſt Part of this Money was Squandered away, and but very little of it employ'd to its proper Uſe; and the Emperour

ſat lazily at *Inſpruck*, and left it to Fortune and his Allies to do his Work for him. At laſt, by the repeated Inſtances of the *Pope*, who was earneſt that *Lewis* the *Twelfth* ſhould have a Rival in *Italy*, he was prevail'd with to advance as far as *Trent*. He was at that Place when the *Venetians* entirely abandon'd all their Dominions in the *Terra Firma*; but acted no further than to ſend to receive the Oaths of Fidelity from ſuch Places as fell to his ſhare by the Treaty. He wrote the King of *France* a long Letter of Thanks, for his valiant Exploits; by the means of which he had been put in poſſeſſion of what he ought to have recovered with his own Sword: And as the higheſt Mark of Gratitude to *Lewis*, he burnt his *Red Book*, in which he kept a Liſt of all the Injuries and Affronts he had received from the Crown of *France*.

A Month after the Battel of *Agnadel*, while the Emperour was ſtill at *Trent*, the Cardinal *D' Amboiſe* was ſent to him from the K. of *France*, to offer him all manner of Aſſiſtance, and to deſire an Interview with him. The Time was fix'd, and the Place agreed upon was near *Garda*; which was then the Boundary between the *French* Dominions and the Emperours Hereditary Countries. *Maximilian* had ſet out in order to this Interview, and had gotten as far as *Riva*; where all of a ſudden his Mind changed, and he returned directly to *Trent*. The Excuſe he ſent *Lewis* the *Twelfth*, was, That he had receiv'd Accounts of ſome Commotions in *Friuli*, which had obliged him to return with all ſpeed to give the neceſſary Orders for ſuppreſſing them. It was believed however, that the true Reaſon of his haſty Return was, that he began to reflect on the poor and beggarly Appearance of thoſe who attended him. It is very like that he thought with himſelf,

ſelf, what a ſorry Figure he ſhould make with ſuch a Retinue, and how much he ſhould debaſe the Imperial Dignity, when he came into the Preſence of the King of *France*, who was ſurrounded with a magnificent and ſhining Court: And what ground he ſhould give for Compariſons, which would be very mortifying to him. This Interview being once broke off, it could never be renewed. After this, the King of *France* took his way to *Milan*; from whence in a few Days he ſet out for *France*.

*Maximilian* continued his Reſidence at *Trent*, and lived there in ſo ſupine and total a Neglect of his Affairs, that he did not ſo much as think of ſending Garriſons into thoſe Places in the *Terra Firma* that were held in his Name. He did nothing memorable all the time he ſtaid at *Trent*, beſides cauſing expedite the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* in favour of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*. He ordered it to be done, and granted it in full Form, in purſuance of what he had ſtipulated at the Treaty of *Cambray*. The *Moſt Chriſtian King* had had a former Inveſtiture of thoſe Dominions, dated the Seventh of *April* 1505, at *Hageneau*; but he did not think it full and valid.

In the firſt place that Inveſtiture at *Hageneau* made no mention of the Right which the Perſon inveſted derived from *Valentina Viſconti* his Grandmother. By induſtriouſly concealing this Right, it ſeems to have been meant, that *Lewis* XII. ſhould hold the Dutchy of *Milan* by the Emperour's Courteſy, and not by any Right of his own. *Lewis* the *Twelfth* however pleaded, that after the Male Line of *John Galeazzo Viſconti*, Firſt Duke of *Milan*, was extinct, the Fief of that Dutchy had of right paſs'd to *Valentina Viſconti*, Daughter of the foreſaid *John*, and to the Poſterity of that Princeſs, of whom he was the Eldeſt. It was by virtue

of his being Heir to *Valentina*, that *Lewis* the *Twelfth* drove the *Sforza's* out of *Milan*, after they had made themſelves Maſters of it, upon the Death of the *Viſconti's* his Grand-uncles; and that he took poſſeſſion of this Fief, as his own Patrimony.

*Lewis* founded his Title upon the Contract of Marriage (in the Year 1387) between his Grandfather *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Son of *Charles* the *Fifth* King of *France*, and *Valentina Viſconti*. By this Contract of Marriage, *John Galeazzo Viſconti*, *Valentina's* Father, did provide, that failing the Male Line of *John*, *Valentina* and her Poſterity ſhould ſucceed to the Dutchy of *Milan*. It is true, that this Contract of Marriage was not ratify'd by the Emperour, as it ſeems ſuch Deeds ought to be. Not becauſe the Imperial Throne was really vacant at that time, becauſe the Electors could not agree in their Choice, as *Paulus Jovius* ſays; for it was only reputed vacant during the Madneſs of the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, who at that time was in one of his worſt Fits. *Caſſan* is in the ſame fault as the forecited Author; but it is not the only Trip he has made in this Matter.

This Marriage with *Valentina* (which was almoſt the ſame thing at that time) was approved and confirmed by the *Pope* of *Avignon*, *Clement* the *Seventh*, to whom, of all the Parties concerned, only *France* and *Milan* paid Obedience at that time. Every body knows, that the *Popes* claim a Right of Superiority over the Empire; which gives them a title, on many Occaſions, to exerciſe an Imperial Power. The ſame *Pope Clement*, I have juſt now mention'd, ſays in an Inveſtiture of an Imperial Fief, which he gave to *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, *That he did it by vertue of an acknowledged Right of Superiority over the Empire.* That the

*Popes*

*Popes* in ſome Caſes may take upon them the Adminiſtration of the Empire, is a Right which a great many Authors grant them, even *Grotius*, the ableſt of all the Politick Lawyers, though he was a *Proteſtant*. There are ſome Caſes in which he ſays the *Popes* may give Inveſtitures of Imperial Fiefs. The *Germans*, cannot deny but that the *Popes* had the Exerciſe of this Right of Adminiſtration in their hands, at that time particularly, when *Clement* the *Seventh* confirmed *Valentina Viſconti*'s Contract of Marriage. It would be tedious to produce all the Examples that might be alledged to prove this Aſſertion; and therefore I will only ſay, That before the aboveſaid Contract of Marriage, there were Two Soveraigns of *Milan* that took Inveſtitures of Fiefs from *Popes*, in Caſes not unlike this, that was confirmed by *Clement* the *Seventh*. The Inveſtitures that were taken by Two Lords of the ſame Family with *Valentina*, *John* and *Luchino Viſconti*, were both held good and valid, and had their due effect.

Eight Years after this Marriage of *Valentina*, the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*, in one of his good Intervals, erected *Milan* into a Dutchy, in favour of *John Galeazzo Viſconti*. The Diploma, or Letters Patent for that Erection, bear date at *Prague*, the Eleventh Day of *May*, 1395. Till then *John Galeazzo* had reign'd, as his Anceſtours did before him, by a Right derived from the People, who had own'd them for their Princes, and Hereditary Protectors. It was only for their Conveniency that the *Viſconti's* took the Title of *Vicars of the Empire*, and paid ſome Homage to the Emperour. It was their own Atchievements, and the Conſent of the People that put them in poſſeſſion of the Government of *Milan*. Mr. *Leibnitz*, in his *Codex Diplomatum*, has publiſhed the Original Inve-

ſtiture of *John Galeas*, of which *Corio* has only given an imperfect Abſtract. If in that Inveſtiture the Daughters of the foreſaid *John* are not diſtinctly and expreſly named to the Succeſſion, yet there is nothing in it that can prove they are excluded. The Deſcendants of *Valentina Viſconti* explain'd in their own favour the Silence of that Inveſtiture of *Wenceſlaus*; who knowing what right that Contract of Marriage gave that Princeſs and her Poſterity, inſerted nothing in his Charter that might any way abrogate it. Theſe Deſcendants, and not without reaſon, ſay further, That *John Galeazzo*, *Valentina*'s Father, would never have publiſhed that Charter, if it could have prejudiced the Rights of his Daughters. *John* had been a long time in full and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Dominions of *Milan*, before ever *Wenceſlaus* thought fit to cauſe expedite that Inveſtiture. It is expreſly declared, that the Emperour did it of his own proper Deed and Motion, without any Application or Requeſt of the Perſon inveſted. That is, That the Emperour *Wenceſlaus* erected *Milan* into a Dutchy, more to preſerve the Rights of the Empire over it, than out of any favour to *John Galeazzo*; though the *Germans* made this Deed a Grievance, and a material Article againſt this Emperour when they Depoſed him.

*Lewis* the *Twelfth*, who had only Daughters, had all the reaſon in the World to rectify that material Omiſſion in the Inveſtiture granted at *Hageneau*, and to aſſert his own Right. This Omiſſion, together with the Inveſtiture of the Laſt Duke of *Milan* before him, *Lewis Sforza*, call'd *The Moor*, would have ſerved as a Proof of the Fief of *Milan*'s deſcending in the Male Line; which would have equally prejudiced *Lewis* the *Twelfth*'s Right, and favoured the Pretenſions of the

the *Germans*. After the Death of the Laſt *Viſconti*, the Emperour *Frederick* the *Third* challenged the Fief of *Milan* as devolved to the Empire. The Inveſtiture of *Lewis the Moor* had been granted to him at *Antwerp*, by the Emperour then reigning, *Maximilian* the *Firſt*, on the Firſt Day of *September*, 1494. *Corio*, in his Hiſtory, gives the Deed at large. However the Females may be excluded by this Inveſtiture from all Succeſſion to the Fief of *Milan*, the Inveſter would have been ſatisfy'd if it had been ſolemnly publiſh'd.

In the ſecond place, the imperfect Inveſtiture that was granted at *Hageneau* included only the Male Poſterity of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*; and failing ſuch Poſterity, that of his Daughters, or other Heireſſes, who ſhould marry *Maximilian*'s Grandſon, *Charles*, then Duke of *Luxemburg*, afterwards Emperour, by the Name of *Charles* the *Fifth*. According to the Tenor of the Inveſtiture, *Charles* was to ſucceed to *Milan* jointly and inſeparably with his future Spouſe, to whom he ſeem'd rather to give a Right to that Fief, than to receive it from her. Though the Poſterity of *Valentina* was not limited to the Perſonal Deſcent of *Lewis* the XII. yet none but the above-mentioned Perſons were capable to ſucceed to the Fief of *Milan* by the Inveſtiture of *Hageneau*. To ſay nothing of the fatal Conſequences which this imperfect and informal Inveſtiture might have had among diſtant Poſterity, it was juſt upon the point of throwing *Lewis* the *Twelfth* into the greateſt Perplexity and Trouble. This Prince, in caſe he had no Sons, had reſolved to marry *Claude* of *France*, his Eldeſt Daughter and Heireſs of *Milan*, to the Count *D' Angouleme*, preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*. According to the Inveſtiture of *Hageneau*, this Princeſs could not bring the Dominions of *Milan* as a Portion with her, to the Count *D' Angouleme*.

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The King of *France* therefore, did by the Treaty of *Cambray* ſtipulate with *Maximilian*, and engaged him to grant a Second Inveſtiture of the Dominions of *Milan*, according to the Right he claim'd to them; And this was the Inveſtiture which the Emperour delivered to the Cardinal *D' Amboiſe*, at *Trent*, on the Fourteenth Day of *June* 1509. By this Inſtrument, it is in the firſt Place declared, That *Lewis* the *Twelfth* enjoys this Right by Deſcent from *Valentina Viſconti*: And by it the then *Pope*'s Confirmation of this Princeſs's Contract of Marriage is held for Lawful and Valid. In the ſecond Place, This Inveſtiture comprehends the Iſſue Male of King *Lewis*, and after them his Daughters, and whomſoever they ſhall Marry. Laſtly, It includes the Collateral Line of *Lewis* the *Twelfth*: The Count *D' Angouleme* not excepted: And failing him and his Poſterity, the next Heirs of *Valentina*, according to the Proximity of Blood, have a Right and Claim to this Fief.

In the mean time, the Republick of *Venice* having from its higheſt Pitch of Power and Grandeur fallen as low as it could, began now to raiſe up its Head again. *Maximilian* ſat ſtill at *Trent*, wrapt up in Indolence and Security, being perſuaded that by the Favour of Fortune and Diligence of his Allies, thoſe Conqueſts they had made for him would be preſerved by the ſame Hands they had been acquired, and therefore thought enough to ſend Governours to Command in thoſe Places; but with ſuch Handfuls of Men as look'd liker Guards for thoſe Officers, than Garriſons for Defending the Places they were to be put into. Thoſe Officers, however weakly back'd had the Folly as well as Cruelty to commit New Extorſion every Day upon the People; who though they had Experienc'd the Arrogance of their Commanders under the *Venetian*

*tian* Government, yet had never been uſed to Plunder and Robbery before. Their ſecret Murmuring grew Univerſal, and ſoon broke out into Publick Diſcontent. This put the Senate of *Venice* upon Attempting the Surprize of *Padoua*. They knew that the Inhabitants were very much Diſſatisfied with the *Germans*, that they had an earneſt Deſire to return to the Obedience of their Old Maſters, and that nothing hindered them but the Show and Appearance of a Garriſon. A great many of the Senators, and eſpecially the *Doge Loredano* (whoſe Speech npon this Occaſion in the Senate *Juſtiniani* relates) vigorouſly Oppoſed this Enterprize. *Loredano* in that Speeeh repreſented, with abundance of good Senſe and Reaſon, how Imprudent it would be, by any dangerous Attempt, to provoke an Enemy they were in no Condition to oppoſe. But *La Molino*, who had been the chief Promoter of the Deſign, did ſo warmly Plead for the Surprizing of *Padoua*, that he brought the Senate to a Reſolution of Attempting it. It may be juſtly ſaid, That it is to this Noble *Venetian* that the Republick owes all they now Poſſeſs in *Italy*, except the *Dogade*. This attempt that opened a Gate for the *Venetians* into the *Terra Firma*, was made in the critical Minute. For ſome few Days after, *Maximilian* arived at *Lombardy*, with ſuch a Number of Troops as might have rendered the Succeſs impoſſible. *Andrew Gritti* having the Charge of this Expedition, marched directly to *Padoua*. His Army conſiſted of Five Thouſand Foot, Four Hundred Men at Arms, and Two Thouſand *Albanians*. He ſucceeded in the Enterprize, and on the Eighteenth Day of *June* he was Maſter of the Place; by the Favour of the Inhabitants; who having taken Arms againſt their New Maſters, opened the Gates to their Old

Ones.

Ones. This happy Event produced incredible Raptures of Joy in *Venice*. The Violence of the Storm that threatened their utter Ruin ſeem'd now to abate. In every Church they return'd their Publick Praiſe and Thanks to the Almighty for what had happened, and for the Proſpect they had of a ſudden and honourable Peace. Trade and Commerce began to run in their uſual Channel at *Venice*. The Publick Credit, as well as that of private Perſons was reſtored, and Money upon either of them were reckon'd good and real Effects. The People began to Buy, to Sell, and to Lend with the ſame Confidence and upon the ſame Foot, as if their Affairs had been in the moſt Flouriſhing Condition, and their Government upon the ſureſt Baſe. To this Day the Eighteenth of *June* is kept as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving at *Venice*, and celebrated with the greateſt Solemnity and Joy.

The City of *Padoua* being taken, all the Territory belonging to it came of Courſe under the Obedience of the Republick. The Country People all about, who, as they are beſt Uſed, are the beſt Affected to the Government, emulouſly ſubmitted to it. The *Venetians* found Means likewiſe to recover *Legnago*; which gave them free Paſſage over the *Adige*, and open'd them a Door for greater Hopes.

The Senate, being ſenſible by what had happen'd, of what Importance it would be to engage all the Subjects of the Republick to devote themſelves intirely to its Service, did a thing without Precedent in the latter Ages. They made an Act, by which they engaged and obliged themſelves to exempt all their Faithful Subjects from all Publick Charges, and to make good all the Loſſes they had already ſuſtain'd, or ſhould thereafter ſuſtain, during the courſe of the preſent War

War. Thoſe who relied upon the Senate's Promiſe had no Reaſon to repent; for the Publick Faith was as Religiouſly obſerved as any Contract between Man and Man ever was: Nor had the Government reaſon to think their Money ill beſtowed. Never did Subjects ſerve their Prince with ſo much Zeal and Devotion as their Subjects of *Venice* did that Government, during the War of *Cambray*; but unhappily for that Republick, their Men ſhow'd themſelves to be much better Subjects than Soldiers.

Notwithſtanding the Conſequences of the Surprizing of *Padoua*, and the Alterations it might make in the Affairs of the Allies, *Lewis* the *Twelfth* purſued his Journey to *France*. His *Chriſtian* Majeſty however, before his Departure renewed the League of *Cambray* with the *Pope*; and adjuſted the Differences that were between him and His Holineſs about the Nomination to Biſhopricks within the *French* Dominions. It was agreed, That the *Pope* ſhould give, according as he thought fit, ſuch as were then actually Vacant; but that for the future he ſhould collate none but upon the King's Preſentation. This Agreement was one of the Cauſes of that Quarrel that afterwards happened, which makes the moſt curious Part of all the Hiſtory of the League of *Cambray*.

*Lewis* the *Twelfth* at his Departure from *Italy*, left *La Paliſſe* with Seven Huudred Spearmen under his Command, as a Guard for *Milan*; with Directions to obey ſuch Order as he ſhould receive from the Emperour, and to uſe his utmoſt Care and Diligence for the common Intereſt. This Officer's firſt Expedition was to preſerve *Vecenza* and *Verona* for the *Germans*: The Inhabitants of which Places had Invited the *Venetians*, repreſenting to them the Diſpoſitions and good Intentions of the People towards them, and the Weakneſs

neſs of the Imperial Garriſons. The *Venetian* Army upon this takes the Field, in hopes to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe Two Places with the ſame Facility that they had *Padoua* and *Legnago*. But the *French* being informed of their Deſign, came up time enough to prevent the Execution of it, and obliged the *Venetians* to retire under the Walls of *Padoua*.

The Mortification this Diſappointment gave the *Venetians* was quickly Recompenc'd by the Comfort they received by a very lucky and unexpected Adventure; which gave them Satisfaction of avenging themſelves on a Prince, who from their Soldier had turn'd their Enemy. The Marqueſs of *Mantua* going to join *La Paliſſe* at *Verono*, had incamp'd at *Iſola della Scala*, without either Watch or Guard, believing himſelf far enough from the Enemy to need any of the uſual Military Precautions. The Garriſon of *Legnago* marching out Surprized all his Men and made them Priſoners: But the Marqueſs himſelf, upon the firſt Notice of this Surprize, made his eſcape by the Favour of the Night, and hid himſelf ſo luckily in a Field of Corn, that the Garriſon thought it in vain to look for him. But applying himſelf to a Country Fellow for a Guide to conduct him to *Verona*, he was betray'd, and carried in Triumph to *Venice*.

On the other Hand, the Negotiation that was then on Foot at *Rome*, for obtaining the *Pope's* Abſolution and Reconciliation with the Republick, began to give hopes of a happy Concluſion. The Six Embaſſadours that had been ſent to His Holineſs from *Venice* were received, but upon Condition they ſhould enter in the Night time, and without any Pomp. Though the *Pope* had not yet allowed them the Honour of Kiſſing his Feet, yet the Negotiation was carrying on by the Mediation

tion of the Cardinal of *Naples*. The *Engliſh* Embaſſadour, *Chriſtopher* Arch-Biſhop of *York*, interpos'd his Mediation in Favour of the *Venetians*, and the *Pope* ſhow'd a great Deference for it. For by that Miniſter's Inſtances, His Holineſs was prevail'd with to refuſe *Maximilian* the Gallies of the Church; which he would have Borrow'd to make an Attempt upon the City of *Venice*. Whether this Deſign was Real or Chimerical, yet the Emperour having *Lewis* the *Twelfth*'s Conſent to employ the *French* Troops in that Expedition, it ſeem'd as if the *Pope*, by this refuſal had hindered the Execution of it, and thereby preſerved *Venice*. The Emperour ſeem'd eaſy under this Diſappointment, Comforting himſelf with a Project he had laid of beſieging *Padona*; the taking of which Place would put him in a Condition to make other Attempts againſt *Venice*. At laſt he made his Diſpoſitions for paſſing the Mountains, and advanced into the *Vicentine*, reckoning upon the Fidelity of that People who had lately ſwore Allegiance to him. But he was out in his Accounts, and found himſelf Obliged to Diſpute every Step he made in thoſe Mountains. For the Country People had taken Arms, and ſo Planted themſelves, as that his Men were Attack'd in Front, Flant, and Rear. Contemporary Authors tell us, that the *Germans* had irritated thoſe *Highlanders* by their extream Cruelty: Which (as thoſe Authors with Horrour relate) they carry'd ſo high, as to teach their Dogs to Hunt the Women and Children like Wild Beaſts, and to uſe them in the ſame Manner as they did their other Prey when they had catch'd them. Among their other Difficulties and Miſfortunes, the *Germans* loſt a great many Men in attacking a Cave into which the Peaſants had removed their beſt Effects. A Body of Marauders,

or

or ſtragling Soldiers of the *Venetian* Infantry, who lived without Diſcipline, had gotten together in order to pillage this Place. But thoſe Rogues finding the Country People in a Poſture to Defend themſelves and their Goods againſt the *Germans*, changed their robbing Diſpoſition into a Charitable and Friendly Aſſiſtance; and offer'd their Service to aſſiſt the poor Peaſants againſt the common Enemy. Next Day following the *Germans* Attack'd the Cave with all their Vigour; but were ſo warmly receiv'd, that abundance of them Disbanded themſelves and Deſerted: Having no Stomach to Fight in a Country where Plunder was ſo hard to be come at. At laſt the Imperial Army arrived in the *Vicentine*, very much Weakened and Diminiſhed before they came in ſight of the Enemy. *Maximilian* haulted ſome time there, till his Army ſhould reſt and refreſh themſelves a little after ſo much Fatigue, and till the Troops of his Allies ſhould have time to join him.

The Siege of this Place, for which the Emperour had made ſuch mighty Preparations, probably would have once more decided the Fate of *Venice*, if the *Venetians* had not ſhow'd as much Conduct and Diligence to fruſtrate his Deſign, as he hid Ardour to render it Succeſsful. The Count *De Pitigliano*, General of the *Venetian* Army, was appointed Governour of *Padoua*: And no leſs Garriſon was put into that Place, than the whole Army of the Republick. Even that ſeeming ſtill too Weak, conſidering the Importance of the Place, they threw into it as many of the Militia as were good and fit for Service: So that the whole Garriſon conſiſted of near Five and Twenty Thouſand Men. All manner of Stores and Proviſions, as much as poſſibly they could get together, were put into the Place; and all the

the Trades People were employ'd to Work at the Fortifications. Every one was allow'd to give in his Scheme of the Expedients he thought beſt for Defending and Saving *Padoua:* And the Meaſures the *Doge* took at that time, and the Conduct he ſhew'd, were worthy of a *Roman* Contemporary with *Furius Camillus.* All the Hiſtorians repreſent him Harranguing the Senate on this Occaſion, but every one of them put a different Diſcourſe in his Mouth; and every one pretends that his is the true One. It is certain, that the Cuſtom of Harranguing was very uſual at that Time; but it is likewiſe true, by many Examples on the like Occaſions, that the Hiſtorians, being too full of themſelves, and too fond of their own Fancies, have made their Heroes ſay what they never thought of, but what thoſe Authors would have ſaid had they been in their Heroe's Place. Were it poſſible to diſtinguiſh the True from the counterfeit Speeches, they would make the moſt curious Part of Hiſtory; but the Hiſtorians of the Sixteenth Century, with a Deſign to embeliſh their Performances, have put ſuch Variety of Speeches upon the World, that it is not worth while to tranſcribe them.

One thing is certain, That the *Doge Loredano*, beg'd of the Senate that his Sons might be allow'd to ſhut themſelves up in *Padoua*: And all Hiſtorians are agreed, that this was the Burthen of his Speech. His Requeſt was received with great Satisfaction, and the Young Nobility, fired with a generous Emulation, accompanied the *Doge*'s Sons, to the Number of Three Hundred Gentlemen. They had not been long in *Padoua*, when the Emperour came and Incamped within Three Miles of that Place. While he ſtay'd there waiting for the numerous Train of Artillery that was coming from *Germany*, he try'd, but in

vain, to divert the Courſe of the River *Brente*. The Ingeneers had miſtaken the Level; for it was found that the Channel of the River was lower than the Neighbouring Ground through which they intended to turn its Courſe. The whole Artillery being come, he advanced, and Incamp'd before *Padoua*; which he could not quite Inveſt, becauſe of the vaſt compaſs of the Place; and therefore he extended his Army a long that Ground that lies between the Gate of the *Holy Croſs* and the *Lower Brente*. *Maximilian* had no great Army, conſidering the greatneſs of his Enterprize. For, including the Confederate Troops that were in his Army, he could not reckon above Seventeen Hundred Men at Arms, and Two and Thirty Thouſand Foot. With this Train of Artillery which was very fine, and well appointed, he reſolved immediaty to batter the Walls, and to make a Breach wide enough for him to paſs at the Head of his Gendarmery.

The firſt Batteries he raiſed were over againſt thoſe Works that lay next to the Gate of the *Holy Croſs*; believing that to be the Weakeſt Part, which he found afterwards to be the Strongeſt. His Reaſon for Attacking this Place was, that ſome time before the Siege it was indeed the Weakeſt; and therefore it was, that the Beſieged uſed their utmoſt Skill and Application to make it as Strong as poſſible. Beſides, from the Works they had raiſed upon the Flanks, they Fired ſo furiouſly on the Attacks, that the Beſigers were forced to alter their Deſign; and the Emperour thought it adviſeable to remove the Attack from thence to the *Baſtion* next to the *Venice* Gate. The Strength of the Garriſon and the Nature of the Ground, where the Beſiegers made their Approaches gave them no ſmall Trouble. By reaſon of the many Springs that were

were round about them, moſt Part of their Works were full of Water before they could finiſh them: And the frequent Sallies, the Beſieged made, and the more frequent Alarms they gave the Enemy, often obliged the Pioneers and others that wrought in the Trenches to abandon their Works, and run to their Arms.

In ſhort, every thing happened before *Padoua* that is uſual in the Sieges of Towns, where the Defence of the Place lyes more in the Number and Valour of the Garriſon, than in the Strength of its Fortifications. No Day paſs'd without ſome Action. The Light Horſe of the Beſieged had the Boldneſs to enter the Enemy's Camp, and carry off Priſoners: Inſomuch, that if the *Venetian* Hiſtorians may be credited, ſuch was the Nature of that Siege, and ſo great was the Varity of Action while it laſted, that no Hand leſs than that of *Titus Livius*, who was born in the Place, was worthy to Write the Hiſtory or Journal of it.

Though the Adventure I am going to relate, contributed nothing to the Succeſs of this Siege, yet it is too Remarkable and Singular to be omitted. *Boutieres*, who was afterwards *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France*'s Lieutenant General, but at this time only Sixteen Years Old, and of the Gendarmes in *Bayard*'s Company, happening one Day to meet an Officer of the Enemy's Light Horſe, who was Famous for his Gigantick Height and Strength, even among his Countrymen the *Albanians*, encounter'd him Hand to Hand, and made him his Priſoner. This New *David* brought his *Goliah*, and preſented him to the Emperour: Who being Surpriz'd at the Strangeneſs of the Spectacle, could not forbear asking this *Albanian* Giant, how he came to let himſelf be taken Priſoner by a Boy, who wanted Four

Years of having a Beard? The Monſter, not conſidering the Conſequence of giving this Young Heroe the Lie, had recourſe to the uſual Excuſe of Cowards, and told *Maximilian*, that he was at once ſurrounded and ſet upon by Four Horſemen, who forced him to yield. *Bayard* being preſent and hearing all that paſs'd, ſaid to *Boutieres*, my dear Child, this touches thy Honour. Upon which the Youth gets up and looking the Giant full in the Face, as well as his Stature would allow him, tells him roundly that he Lied, and that he alone had taken him: And to make good what he ſaid, Challeng'd him to mount his Horſe again, that he might either Kill him, or make him beg Quarters a ſecond Time. The brave Captain *Bayard* gave his Young Soldier leave to try the Combat, but the Cowardly *Albanian* as baſely declined it, having ſufficient Proof of *Boutieres*'s Courage already.

But to return to the Siege, the *Baſtion* that the Emperour had Attack'd was now laid quite open, and Orders were given for a general Aſſault. The *Germans*, the *French*, and the *Spaniards*, mounted the Breaches in Three different Bodies, to the end that Emulation might excite the Ardour of thoſe Three Nations. The Aſſaults was very terrible, and in a little time the Emperour ſaw his Colours planted on the *Baſtion*. But the Artillery of the Place having full View of the Backſide of the Works, and the Garriſon making a vigorous Reſiſtance, the Beſigers were Repulſed with conſiderable Loſs. *Maximilian* being a Man who ſoon grew weary of any Enterprize, and who could not wait long for Succeſs, upon this Diſappointment, loſt Heart, and rais'd the Siege, Sixteen Days after the opening of the Trenches. Leaving *Padoua* he retir'd to *Vicenza*, from whence, having Disbanded his Army, he went

went to *Verona:* Where he ſtaid no longer than to confer with *Chaumont*; and to do a thing which the *Venetians* ought never to forget; which was to give the Inveſtiture of the Dominions of *Eſte* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, whoſe Family bears the Name of it. *Maximilian* gave it him as an Imperial Fief, the *Dominium Utile*, or full Profits of it having for a long time been in that Houſe, dependant on the Empire. Immediatly after this, the Emperour returned to *Germany* to make Preparations for the next Campaign; without taking any other Meaſures for the Preſervation of his New Acquiſitions, than leaving the Margrave of *Brandeburg* with ſome Troops at *Verona*. Theſe Meaſures did not at all ſuite the preſent Conjuncture; but the Emperour, according to his uſual Politick, reckon'd that all his Neglects would be ſufficiently Supplied and Rectified by the Favour of Fortune, and the Diligence of his Allies. Before he had gotten as far as *Trent*, he ſaw the Effect of his Indolence and Preſumption; for the *Venetians* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Vicenza*, upon the Invitation of the Inhabitants: And *Verona* would have followed the Example, had not *Obigni* with great Expedition carried Three Hundred *French* Gendarmes into that Place. It was not in *Lombardy* only that this Campaign ended happily for the *Venetians*; for they retook likewiſe ſeveral Places they had loſt in *Friuli* and *Iſtria*; but as for their Attempt upon *Ferrara*, though it was Unſucceſsful, yet it was no leſs for the Reputation of thier Arms than the former Succeſſes were. For by that Attempt they ſhew'd to all *Europe*, who belived their Republick to be at its laſt Gaſp, that they had ſtill left Force enough to Defend themſelves, ſince they had enough to Attack others. The *Venetians*, 'tis true, might have made Enterprizes that would have been

leſs

leſs Dangerous and more Advantageous to their Republick. *Treviſani*, who was to Command the Fleet that was deſign'd for this Expedition, did warmly repreſent to them the Dangers it muſt be expos'd to, if he ſhould ſet out and make War upon the Enemy, at that unſeaſonable Time of the Year, it being now in the Month of *December*. But the *Venetians* being hurried on by a violent Reſentment againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who had Provoked them more by taking the forementioned Inveſtiture from the Emperour, than by all his other Acts of Hoſtility, ſtop'd their Ears againſt all *Treviſani*'s Remonſtrances. It was reſolved in the Senate, That the Fleet, which conſiſted of Seventeen Gallies and a great Number of other Ships, ſhould immediatly ſet Sail, and that after they had Pillaged the *Ferrareze*, they ſhould go and open the Paſſage over the *Po*, for the Land Army that was to Beſiege *Ferrara*. In Obedience to theſe Orders, this well equip'd Fleet ſets out, and Plundering all they could find on each ſide the *Po*, they advanced as far as *Lago Oſcuro*, a Village where People ordinarily Land to go to *Ferrara*; which is about Three Miles diſtant from the great Branch of this River. At this Place they ſent a Party a Shore to Burn the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Pleaſure Houſe; but before they could proceed to Enterprizes of greater Importance, it was Neceſſary that the Land Army, which already advanced to the left Bank of the River, over againſt *Lago Oſcuro*, ſhould paſs over to that Side on which *Ferrara* ſtood. *Treviſani* made uſe of his Fleet for a Bridge to them, and Fortified it with Two Redoubts; which he finiſhed notwithſtanding the repeated Efforts of the Enemy to hinder him.

*Ferrara*

*Ferrara* was in gaeat Conſternation for ſome Days; for the Duke had but few Troops in it: And that Capital City, which now has not above Seven or Eight Thouſand Inhabitants, had then no leſs than Fourſcore Thouſand: Moſt part of whom were Strangers, who had been drawn thither by Reaſon of the Trade and Manufactures which then Flouriſhed in *Ferrara*. One would have believed, and not without Reaſon, that thoſe People wiſh'd to ſee the *Venetians* in their City. For theſe, however willing they were to Ruin Trade every where but among themſelves, yet had the Secret to make every Body believe, that they were the great Protectors and common Fathers of all Trading People. This Alarm laſted not long; for *Chatillon* bringing Four Hundred Spearmen with him to Reinforce and Succour the Duke, that Prince being ſecure as to the Preſervation of his Capital, turned all his Thoughts upon the Ruin of the *Venetian* Fleet: And the Manner how he executed his Deſign was ſingular.

The Duke of *Ferrara* not only underſtood what belong'd to Artillery very well, but had the beſt furniſhed Arſenal in *Europe*, next to that of *Venice*; though there was Six or Seven Sovereigns in *Italy* more Powerful than he. Out of this Arſenal he ordered to be drawn a prodigious Number of great Guns, which he planted upon Batteries he had raiſed on the right Bank of the *Po*. Theſe Batteries commanded the River for the Space of Three Miles below *Treviſani*'s Bridge, which lay off *Ferrara*. The *Venetians* ſo far overſaw themſelves, as to fancy that the People of *Ferrara* were only raiſing ſome little Works that could do them no harm, and therefore ſuffered them to go on without any Hindrance, or indeed without being Alarmed. The Night between

tween the Twentieth and Twenty First of *December* the Works were Perfected, and fit for Action; and the next Morning the Duke ordered all the Batteries that were within Canon Shot of *Trevisani*'s Bridge and the *Venetian* Fleet, to play upon them. It was at time that of the Year that the Rivers in *Lombardy* are loweſt: And therefore *Trevisani*, to keep his Ships afloat, had Anchor'd them all in the middle of the Channel of the *Po*; by which means they muſt needs lye very cloſe to one another, and make the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Canon very Succeſsful among them. Many of the *Venetian* Ships were Sunk: and others were run a Ground by the Precipitation of the Seamen, who made what haſte they could to get below the Enemies Fire; and many of them were Burnt before the *Venetians*, by Reaſon of the Tumult and Confuſion they were in, could get them a float again. Several of the *Venetian* Ships quickly Surrendered themſelves to the Enemy. Such of them as fell down the *Po*, being expos'd to the Enemy's Fire, from the Batteries they had raiſed along the Bank, for the ſpace of Three Miles, were moſt Part either taken or ſunk. The Admiral *Trevisani*, was glad to get off in his Ship's Boat, leaving the Admiral Ship behind him, which with Fourteen other Gallies the Duke brought in Triumph into his Capital City. The Senate of *Venice* was ſo allarmed at this Diſaſter, that they immediatly ſent Orders to the Proveditor of *Legnago* to cut the Dikes of the *Adige*, and put the Country under Water, if the *Ferrarois* ſhould paſs the *Po* to improve the Advantage they had got over the Republick. This was the Iſſue of the Campaign in the Year 1509: At the end of which, Part of *Friuli*, *Treviſo*, and *Padoua* remained in the Poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*. They found themſelves obliged at that Time

Time to uſe a Method very common in our Days, to cover the *Vicentine* and the *Padouan* from the Incurſions of the Enemy, who then were in Poſſeſſion of *Verona*; which was to cover thoſe Two Provinces with Lines Fortified with Redoubts and a large and deep Ditch. The Lines were extended Fifteen Miles, from the Moraſs of *Legnago* to the Mountains above *Souva*. That is, they incloſed all that Space of Land that lyes between the Mountains of the *Vicentine*, which the Peaſants knew well how to Defend, and the Marſhes of the *Adige*.

No ſooner was *Treviſani* return'd to *Venice* after his fatal Expedition, than the *Avogadors* accuſed him of Mal-adminiſtration, and brought the Cauſe before the Great Council; fearing leſt the Criminal ſhould find too much Favour in the Senate, moſt of the Members of which being Old Men, would call to mind their own Caſe and that of their Relations, while they were Sitting in Judgment upon *Treviſani*'s. All the *Venetian* Nobles, except the Procurators of St. *Mark*, take their Place in the Great Council, and give their Votes, provided they are Five and Twenty Years Old. By this means, the Number of thoſe that compoſe this Great Aſſembly is ſix Times as great as the Number of Senators that have a Right of Voting in the Deliberations of their Body. Every one knows, that almoſt one Half of thoſe of whom the Senate is compoſed, have no Right of Voting, but only appear in that Aſſembly in order to Learn. It was therefore impoſſible for *Treviſani*, being brought before the Grand Council, to get Voices enough to clear him if he had been Guilty. Beſides, the Young People, who are the greater Part of this Tribunal, uſually gave their Judgment with Sincerity, without being Byaſs'd from Juſtice by any Proſpect

ſpect of Intereſt, or fear of any Reflection on themſelves, or their Friends, at leaſt ſo eaſily as thoſe who have had longer Experience in the World. The Great Council of *Venice*, which is the Body repreſentative of the whole People, and in which the Supreme Sovereignty is Logded, immediatly annull'd a Decree of the Senate which appointed *Treviſani*'s Tryal to be brought before them: And, which was extraordinary, the Great Council prepared and drew up the Caſe themſelves. The Plurality of Voices gave it againſt the Criminal, and only thoſe who were Intereſted, had the Courage to Vote in his Favour. The Sentence they paſs'd againſt him was, That their Diſaſter at *Ferrara*, was owing to his Negligence more than to his Ill Fortune; and therefore that he ſhould be Baniſh'd for the Space of Three Years.

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*The End of the Firſt Book.*

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THE

# CONTENTS

OF THE

# Second Book.

*THE unfavourable Diſpoſition of Pope* Julius *the* 2d *towards* France, *is heightened by the Conjuncture of Affairs at that time; notwithſtanding his Engagements with the Princes his Allies he makes a ſeparate Peace with the* Venetians, *and gives them Abſolution in a ſolemn manner. The unſucceſsful Endeavours that were uſed to hinder him. The Death of the General of the* Venetian *Army, and the Choice of a new one, gives the Senate great perplexity. The Pope endeavours at a Diet held at* Ausburg, *to perſwade the Empire to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and the* Venetians. Lou. Helian *the* French *Ambaſſadors Speech againſt the* Venetians. *They are put under the Ban, or Outlawry of the Empire.* Julius *the* 2d *ſets up his Claim for the pretended Rights of the See of* Rome, *againſt the Duke of* Ferrara. *That Prince's Reaſons againſt the Pope's Pretenſions.* Lewis *the* 12th *generouſly takes his Ally under his Protection againſt* Julius *the* 2d, *and ſends him Troops. The Death of the Cardinal* d'Amboiſe, Lewis *the* 12th's *firſt Miniſter. The Campaign in the year* 1510, *againſt the* Venetians. *The Pope acts in a hoſtile manner againſt* France. France *enters into Alliance with the* Swiſs-Cantons *in the year* 1510. *The King of* France *refuſes the*

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THE

# THE HISTORY OF THE League of *Cambray.*

## BOOK II.

BEfore the *Lacedemonians* began the *Peloponeſian* War, they conſulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, to know whether *Apollo* would hear their Prayers, and grant their Requeſts during the courſe of it. The anſwer the Oracle gave, was, That *Apollo* would always vouchſafe them his Aſſiſtance, whether they pray'd to him or not, ſo long as their Conduct was wiſe, and they fought like Men of Honour and Courage. Chriſtians cannot without Impiety, harbour ſuch Notions of the Divine Providence, as the Oracle gave of *Apollo*; but this they ought always to conſider, that nothing is more powerful to draw down the Bleſſings of Heaven on any State or Kingdom, than the wiſe Care and Diligence of thoſe who govern it. The *Venetians* had in vain ordered pub- 1510.

lick and ſolemn Prayers to be offered up to the Almighty in all their Churches, if the Senate had taken no Meaſures, but ſecurely waited for Miracles to extricate them out of their Difficulties and Dangers: But their Activity, their Courage, their Steddineſs, their Care to Puniſh, and their Diligence in Rewarding, according to Juſtice and Merit, made their Prayers to be heard, and procured them the favour of Providence. It was well for them, that their Enemies were at Variance among themſelves, ſince without that, all their endeavours for the preſervation of their Country, might have proved ineffectual.

The King of *France*'s new Acquiſitions in *Italy*, would have raiſed againſt him the jealouſy of a Pope naturally well inclin'd to that Crown. *Julius* the 2*d* was far from being ſincerely ſo diſpoſed, not but that he had been known on other Occaſions to favour the Intereſt of *France*, ſeemingly led to do ſo by his own Choice and Inclination, but either his Mind was ſtrangely altered, or this Inclination meerly counterfeited. Knavery is always to be abhorr'd, but Fickleneſs may be often accounted for. *Julius* the 2*d* own'd, that he had once been ſincerely in the Intereſt of *France*, but that the Mortifications he had received from that Crown, had forced him to alter his Mind. He alledged, that what had devoted him to the Intereſt of *France*, was the poſitive Aſſurances he had received from the Miniſters of *Charles* the 8*th*; That ſo ſoon as the *French* ſhould be Maſters in *Rome*, they would depoſe *Alexander* the 6*th*, his mortal and profeſs'd Enemy, and fix *Julius* in his place, in St. *Peters* Chair. That though the fate of that Pope had been intirely in the hands of the *French*, when as Conquerours they entred *Rome* upon their firſt Expedition into *Naples*, they had not kept

kept their word to the Cardinal *de Rovero*. It was not for the Worth or Virtues of *Alexander* the *6th*, that they regarded him, but becauſe by his ſuperiour Wit and Addreſs, he had gull'd them into a belief of his being their Friend; but be that as 'twill, *Alexander* died Pope, and the *French* ſhow'd no regard to *Julius*'s Intereſt at the next Election, though he was an avow'd Creature of theirs at that time, and *Pius* the 3*d* was choſe. After Pope *Pius*'s Death, 'tis true, they endeavoured to advance the Cardinal *de Rovero*; but the new Pope ſhow'd no great liking to their Nation. At firſt the *French* uſed all their Efforts for the exaltation of the Cardinal *d' Amboiſe*, and where they forbore to oppoſe the advancement of *Julius* the 2*d*, it was rather becauſe they deſpaired of Succeſs for the Cardinal, than for any favour they had for *Julius*; That notwithſtanding all the Engagements the *French* lay under to him, they had well-nigh made him run the riſque of miſſing the Pontificat once more. *Julius* the 2*d* therefore thought, that though the Iſſue anſwered his Deſire, yet that he was not obliged to forgive the *French* for the oppoſition they had formerly made him: It cannot be denied, but that they kept him out of *Peter*'s Chair eight Years; for, as he alledged, he ſhould have been plac'd in it in the Year 1495, whereas by their means he was kept out till the Year 1503. This indeed, to thoſe who are aſpiring to the Tripple Crown, is ſuch a piece of Mortification, as removes all hopes of Reconciliation with thoſe who give it. Since the Death of *Julius* the 2*d*, the Princes of Chriſtendom have experienced oftner than once, that to oppoſe the exaltation of a Cardinal, is to make a Wound in his Heart, which will never be healed ſo perfectly, but that the leaſt Offence will make the Scar fly open again.

In this Diſpoſition was *Julius* the 2*d*, when he was incenſed by the neceſſity that *France* put upon him, of continuing the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe* his Legat for that Kingdom. *Alexander* the 6*th* had conferr'd that Dignity on him, at a time when *France* was both his Protector and Benefactor. It was therefore with the greateſt Grief and Sorrow, that *Julius* the 2*d* diveſted himſelf of ſuch a part of his Power, to adorn a hateful Rival; and what hightened his Sorrow, was, that he was forced to ſmother his Reſentment. The Power of *France* was ſo formidable in *Italy* in the beginning of his Pontificat, that he durſt not give ſcope to his impetuous Humour, nor ſo much as ſecretly gratify his inveterate hatred, by giving *France* thoſe little Mortifications, which the Popes know Crown'd Heads are ſenſibly touch'd with.

Notwithſtanding the care the Court of *Rome* takes to conceal their Deſigns, there is perhaps no Country, where thoſe who will be at the pains, may know ſooner the Diſcourſe, and even the Thoughts of thoſe, whoſe inſide they are moſt concern'd to penetrate into. *Lewis* the 12*th* of *France*, and Duke of *Milan*, had a good number of his Creatures and Spies at that Court, who took care that he ſhould not be ignorant of the Pope's ill Diſpoſition towards him, and who repreſented to him every thing that was talk'd and diſcourſed there, in the moſt exaggerating and bitter Terms.

Averſion, as well as Friendſhip and Kindneſs, are uſually paid in the ſame Coin. *Lewis* the 12*th* being fully ſatisfied of the hatred the Pope bore him, was reſolved to be even with him, tho' nothing is more againſt the rules of Decency, and produces more fatal Effects, than the ſtinging Expreſſions that one Soveraign uſes againſt another

another; yet *Lewis*'s Reſentment made him ſometimes forget himſelf ſo far, as to charge the Pope with Crimes not only very unbecoming the Papal Dignity, but which reflected Diſgrace even upon private Men in *Italy*. *Lewis*, when he took occaſion to talk of the Pope, beſtowed often no better name on him, than that of *the Drunkard*; and what made the Affront the more ſevere, was, that there was ſome ground for it. Whiſt *Lewis* and *Pius* were thus mutually diſpoſed towards each other, there happened, what one cannot avoid ſeeing; when two Princes who have a perſonal averſion to one another, find it however their intereſt in ſome Occaſions, to make up Matters between themſelves; that is, *Quarrels*, and then *Reconcilement*, and ſoon after that new *Jars* and *Diviſions* again. An Inſtance of this kind lately happened; the *Pope* according to the eſtabliſh'd cuſtom and practice of his Predeceſſors, of beſtowing the Benefices of ſuch as died during the attendance on that Court, had, by his abſolute Authority and Power, conferr'd a Biſhoprick in *Provence*, the Incumbent of which had died at the Court of *Rome*. The King pleaded, that it was an Infraction of their laſt Agreement; but *Lewis* knowing how tedious and difficult it was to ſue, and have Satisfaction given at the Court of *Rome*, thought it adviſeable, in order to do himſelf Juſtice, to make the *Pope* the Plaintiff. He ordered all the Revenues of the Benefices, that the Prelate of the Court of *Rome* poſſeſs'd in the *Milaneze* to be ſeized. Thus it being the Popes part to complain, the Matter was adjuſted in a few Days. The Pope conferr'd the Biſhoprick in *Provence*, upon the King's Nomination; who on his part reſtored the Revenues he had ſeized. Though this matter was ſoon brought to a Con-

cluſion, yet the Accommodation did not remove the new Rancour it had rais'd.

Nothing could fall out more luckily for the *Venetians*, than theſe Jars and Diviſions between the *King* and the *Pope*; neither of whom were ſincerely in friendſhip with the *Emperor*. As for the King of *Arragon*, he very wiſely conſidered, that having now nothing more to demand of the *Republick*, he would concur with it; but by under-hand dealing, which he perfectly well underſtood, to do all the miſchief he could to two Princes, with whom he knew he ſhould never be truly Reconciled, by reaſon of the important Pretenſions they had againſt him: The *Venetians* laid hold of this favourable Juncture to negotiate their Abſolution, and a Peace at the Court of *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors of the Emperor and the King of *France* uſed their utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe it, but all in vain, it was to no purpoſe that they alledged that Article of the Treaty of *Cambray*, by which his Holineſs was obliged to hold the *Venetians* Excommunicated, till ſuch time as the Confederate Princes were in poſſeſſion of all they pretended to recover from the Republick; and that *Maximilian* was as yet far from being in poſſeſſion of all that he claimed by the Terms of the Treaty. The *Pope* put them off with a great many frivolous Reaſons and Excuſes, that he might go on in his Negotiation with the *Venetians*; he told them it was the *Emperors* own fault, that the *Venetians* had retaken *Padoua* and *Vicenza*; that the Treaty was fulfilled by the *Venetians* offering him an Equivalent for *Treviſa*, the only Place he wanted of all that had been allotted to him by the Terms of the Treaty of *Cambray*, at a time when he was in poſſeſſion of the two other Towns. To this the Allies gave an anſwer that prevented any Reply. They remonſtrated

ſtrated to him, that the Treaty of the League of *Cambray* was unlimited as to its Continuance, and that it ought not to expire, before its entire Accompliſhment. That the Article of ſuch a Treaty as ſtipulates, that the Soveraign Power contracting, ſhall be obliged in ſuch and ſuch manner, to do all the harm they can to the Common Enemy, till ſuch time as each of them have obtain'd Satisfaction, does neceſſarily bind thoſe contracting Powers, till ſuch time as the Countries and Places that are the ſubject of the War, be, by a Treaty of Peace, put into the poſſeſſion of thoſe who ought to have them for their Satisfaction. That ſuch an Engagement ſtill ſubſiſts, ſo long as the Common Enemy detains what they ought to part with, either by preſerving and defending it, or by retaking it after it had once been recovered. That nothing but a Treaty of Peace, by which the Common Enemy ſhall be obliged to yield and deliver up all that has been the ſubject of the War, can compleat the Satisfaction of the Powers contracting, or diſſolve the Offenſive Union among them, which was made and entered into for that end; and that therefore, the Obligations and Engagements that were ſtipulated at the ſigning of the League of *Cambray*, would ſtill be binding, till the Emperor had obtained compleat Satisfaction, and the *Venetians* by a Treaty, had fully yielded and given up to him, all he could demand according to the Terms of the League. That the Pope ought to hold the *Venetians* in a ſtate of Excommunication, till that by a General Peace, they had ſurrendered all that by the League of *Cambray*, was declared to belong to the ſeveral Princes that ſigned it.

All theſe Reaſons made no impreſſion on the Pope, being fully reſolved to proſecute his De-

ſign,

ſign, maugre all that could be ſaid or done to divert him. *Lewis* the 12*th* being very ſenſible of the ill Offices his Holineſs had done him in *Switzerland*, and foreſeeing thoſe he deſigned him in *England*, left no Stone unturn'd to prevent the Abſolution of the *Venetians*, as a means to create an irreconcileable hatred between that State and the Court of *Rome*. In order to this, *Lewis* ſends *Albert Pio* of *Savoy*, Count of *Carpi*, to *Rome*, to aſſiſt by his Counſel and Advice the Cardinal *d'Auch*, the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*'s Nephew, who had the management of the *French* Affairs at that Court. The Count of *Carpi* had perſwaded the King, that he would be a much fitter Perſon to influence the Pope, and to bring him to a ſincere Reconciliation with *France*, than any *Frenchman* could be; who, as he ſuppos'd, might by his petulant Behaviour, and indiſcreet and prepoſterous Diſcourſe, exaſperate his Holineſs to ſuch a degree, as would make him proof againſt all future attempts for a Reconciliation. Accordingly he was diſpatch'd with Inſtructions, that empower'd him to make the Pope ſuch Offers, as could not fail of gratifying the haughty Temper of *Julius* the 2*d*. This Miniſter had power likewiſe to aſſure his Holineſs, that the King being fully reſolved to ſquare his meaſures by his Directions for the future, had left it intirely to his Holineſs to determine, whether he ſhould put in practice the Reſolutions he had taken to make an Expedition into *Italy* the following Spring, for promoting the Common Intereſt; and that the moſt Chriſtian King for his part, deſired nothing but the obſervation of the Treatiſes that were ſtill ſubſiſting.

Neither the engaging Offers the King had made, nor all the Count *de Carpi*'s Induſtry and Addreſs, were able to move the Pope, who was too far

far advanc'd already to think of Retreating; ſo all that *France* got by this Lords Journey to *Rome*, was to have two of his Ambaſſadors Witneſſes to the Pope's abſolving the *Venetians*, where one was too much.

The Pope long'd as much to give this Abſolution, as they did to receive it. His Views and Deſires being now fully ſatisfy'd, he fear'd the ruin of the *Venetian* Republick, as much as he wiſhed to ſee it humbled, when he entered into the League of *Cambray*. The *Turks* were much more formidable to *Italy* at that time, than they are now: The whole Country trembled at the remembrance of that General Conſternation it was in, upon *Mahomet* the 2*d's* taking *Otranto*; and any Fleet the Grand Signior could put out to Sea, was enough to ſtrike Terror into all *Italy*. Nor was this fear without ground, conſidering, that at that time the *Ottoman* Monarchy was in a growing State, and no Man could pretend to know, what bounds the Divine Providence would ſet to that Empire: but the *Venetians*, by an Artifice very uſual among Commonwealths, who endeavour always to make themſelves neceſſary in the intercourſe and commerce of Nations, refined upon the general Opinion of the *Ottoman* Greatneſs, and improved the account of it, beyond what Truth allowed them; and becauſe the *Venetian* Republick was look'd upon as the Bulwark of Chriſtendom, againſt the irruptions of the *Turks*, they exaggerated the number of the *Ottoman* Troops, the bravery of their *Janiſaries*, their Riches, and their excellent Conduct in all great Enterprizes: The more formidable they made the *Turks*, the more reſpected and valued themſelves were by all the *Italians*, and the more engaged them to bear with their Meaſures, and to favour their Trade and Commerce. The

other

other *Italians*, who had little Correſpondence with *Turky*, in compariſon with what the *Venetians* had, thought themſelves bound to believe the *Venetians* in matters relating to that Country; and that Republick having an ordinary Ambaſſadour reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, beſides a great many inferior Miniſters at other Ports of the *Ottoman* Empire, thought themſelves ſufficiently priviledged, to put upon others ſuch accounts of the *Ottoman* Affairs, as they thought convenient to have believed. *Julius* the 2*d* believing as well as the reſt, that the *Venetians* only by their Negotiatons, could keep the *Turks* on the other ſide of the *Adriatick Sea*, or with their Fleet force them back again, if they ſhould attempt to croſs it, could not endure the thoughts of their Republick's Ruin. He look'd upon that Republick, in the condition it then was, as a State, which the care and labour of ſeven hundred Years had rear'd up and formed, by miraculouſly conjoining far diſtant Countries, which Nature ſeem'd to have ſituated ſo, as never to be united into one Body politick; but it was this Separation of the ſeveral Parts of the *Venetian* Dominions, that gave that Republick the advantage beyond others, of ſtopping the Rapidity of the *Ottoman* Conqueſts: Beſides, he was afraid leſt thoſe Soveraigns the See of *Rome* had reaſon to be jealous of, ſhould encreaſe their Power by the Wreck of that Republick. On the contrary, having a deſign to improve the Jarrs that were between him and the King of *France*, to an open Rupture, he could have wiſhed that the Power of the *Venetians* had been greater, ſince their friendſhip was neceſſary for the execution of his mighty Projects.

Upon this Proſpect, *Julius* the 2*d* paſs'd from his Demands of the Reſtitution of the Profits of thoſe Dominions of the Church, which had been poſſeſs'd

poſſeſs'd by the *Venetians*, and from the performance of other Points which at firſt he exacted. On the other hand, the *Venetians* being firmly perſwaded, that their Safety depended upon a ſpeedy Reconciliation with the Holy See, which alone could diſſolve the League, granted the Pope whatever he demanded, looking upon his not impoſing hard Conditions, as Marks of great Favour. There only remained ſome difficulties relating to the Sovereignty of the *Adriatick Sea*. The Pope had a mind that it ſhould be free for all the Subjects of the Church to ſail on that Sea, without being obliged to ſhow any Marks of Submiſſion, by which they might own the Republick a Sovereign of that Sea.

The *Venetians*, to excuſe themſelves for not conſenting to this Demand, pleaded their ancient Title to the Sovereignty of that Sea; which Title, notwithſtanding all that has been written for and againſt it, remains ſtill a Problem in the Law of Nations, not eaſy to be ſolved. They repreſented to his Holineſs, that this was a Jewel they could not part with, having obtain'd it from the Popes themſelves; and that *Alexander* the 3*d* particularly had given it them, not freely, and of his own accord, but as a Reward for their having taken Arms in his Defence, when he wanted their Aſſiſtance; which was, when their Anceſtors obliged the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of that ſacred Pontif; they further urged, that the Succeſſors of *Alexander* had on many Occaſions, acknowledged that Right of their Republick. That when the *Doge Moro* came to meet Pope *Pius* the 2*d* at *Ancona*, the Pope's Galleys, though they were then in a Habour that belong'd to the Church, ſtruck their Flag to that of St. *Mark*, which was hoiſted upon the Ship in which the

*Doge*

Doge was. It is hard to tell, what Answer any other Soveraign, except the Pope, would have given to this Representation of the *Venetians*; but *Julius* the 2*d* thought it adviseable at that time, to give no other Answer, than that there was no Deed or Monument of any Services done to *Alexander* the 3*d*. nor of any such Concession of his, any where else but in *Venice*. That it was meer Courtesy and Favour to give credit to this Relation; and that no body at *Rome* would ever believe what the *Venetians* said on this Head, but at a time when the Holy See was in perfect friendship with them. This was sufficiently verified in the last Age; *Urban* the 8*th* being dissatisfied with the *Venetians*, ordered an Inscription which was much to the honour of that Republick, and which was under the Picture in the Royal Hall of the *Vatican*, that represented the Emperour *Frederick*'s humbling himself at the feet of *Alexander* the 3*d* to be effaced, as a plain Falshood. *Innocent* the 10*th* being afterward in friendship with the *Venetians*, ordered it to be restored as a certain Truth. For this time however, the *Venetians* were obliged to promise to submit to the Pope's pleasure. Accordingly on the 25*th* of *February*, in a full Consistory, the Pope ordered the Conditions to be read, upon which the *Venetian* Ambassadours in the name of their Masters, and by virtue of a special Power and Commission for that effect, obtain'd his Holinesses absolution of the Censures the Republick lay then under.

The Conditions were, *That for the future the Republick should confer no Benefices, but such as were of Lay Patronage; and that they should not trouble or molest in any manner, those who had received Benefices or Collation from the Court of* Rome; *and that it should be lawful for all their Sub-*

*Subjects to bring all their Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to that Court, as to the laſt Reſort. That the Republick ſhould lay no Tax or Impoſition upon the Goods and Incomes of the Church, and that they ſhould actually retract the Appeal they had made to a future Council.*

*That they ſhould renounce all Right and Pretenſions to the Lands belonging to the Church, and eſpecially to the Right they claim'd of eſtabliſhing a Vidame, or Judge at* Ferrara.

*That the Subjects of the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, ſhould be allowed to Trade freely on the* Adriatick *Gulph; and that their Ships of whatever kind, or loaded with what Goods ſoever, whether for Themſelves, or for Strangers, ſhould not be liable to any Search or Impoſition.*

*That the Republick ſhould in no manner meddle with, or take cognizance of what treatment the Pope ſhould think fit to give any of his Vaſſals, nor be any wiſe aiding or aſſiſting to them. Finally, that the Republick ſhould make good all the Damages they had occaſion'd, either to Churches, or the Revenues of the Clergy, during the whole courſe of the War.*

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadours having ſign'd an Inſtrument, by which they ſubmitted to all theſe Conditions, the Pope admitted them into the Conſiſtory, and there gave them Abſolution with all the uſual Ceremonies. By this means the Pride and Haughtineſs of *Julius* the 2*d* was fully ſatisfied; all the Power the Court of *Rome* claimed for maintaining its Temporal Intereſt, was fully own'd and acknowledged by thoſe Soveraign Powers in *Italy*, who had moſt vigorouſly and conſtantly oppoſed the eſtabliſhing of it. The Republick of *Venice* beg'd the Papal Abſolution, in a Cauſe which really regarded only their politick Conduct, and they were forced to ſubmit

to

to the imperious Conditions of an arbitrary Peace; and such as a haughty and successful Prince would have vouchsafed to grant them. Such is the Power of Conjunctures, and of the State of Affairs; but such Events often prove dangerous Examples to those who imitate them without due Examination. Pope *Paul* the *5th*, about a hundred years after what I have been relating happened, willing to tread in the Steps of his Predecessour *Julius* the *2d*, with regard to the *Venetians*, not considering the different State of Affairs, was forced to come to an Agreement with that Republick, which in the Judgment of all *Europe*, was not much for the honour of the Court of *Rome*.

The *Venetians* no sooner received advice of the Pope's Absolution, than they redoubled their ardour and endeavours for maintaining a War, which they flattered themselves would have a quite different issue from that of the ruin of their Republick; though they had lost most part of their Dominions in the *Terra Firma*, yet they raised an Army of fourteen hundred Men, four thousand Light-Horse, and ten thousand Foot. The Pope's having allowed such of his Subjects as would, to go into their Service, contributed much to the compleating their Troops. This allowance was a manifest breach of the League of *Cambray*, and what gave no small Satisfaction to the *Venetians*. No sooner was it granted, than the most famous and experienced Officers in the Ecclesiastical Dominions, engaged in the *Venetian* Service; but at the same time the Republick lost their great General *Petigliano*, who partly by Age, and partly by an acute Disease, died at *Padoua*. He was an Officer of great Merit, and one who had grown old with his Sword in his Hand. Before *Charles* the *8th's* time, and whilst the *Italians* fought

fought with *Italians*, he was reputed a very daring General; but after the Battle of *Fornoua*, in which he was made ſenſible how much the Troops from this ſide the *Alps*, exceeded thoſe on the other; he became ſo Wary and Circumſpect, that he paſs'd rather for a fearful, than a forward Commander. Being always againſt hazardous Meaſures, he thought the beſt way would be for the *Italians* to forbear coming to blows with the Enemy, and that their Troops ſhould ſupply by trick and cunning, what they wanted in true Military Qualities; and that they ſhould endeavour to defeat them, without ever fighting them.

The choice of a General, is the moſt perplexing thing in the World to the Senate of *Venice*; and the State their Affairs were in at the Death of *Pitigliano*, made that Choice ſtill the more difficult: At laſt they caſt their Eyes upon the Marqueſs of *Mantua*, who at that time was actually their Priſoner in the Palace of St. *Mark*. This Gentleman, who went by the Name of the *Turk*, whether for his Strength, or for the mighty Friendſhip that was between him and *Bajazet*, Sultan of the *Turks*, was a Perſon very capable to Command the *Venetian* Army; beſides, it was convenient for the *Venetians* to ſecure ſuch an Ally, becauſe, by the ſituation of the *Mantuan*, that Country was of great Importance to them, with regard to the War in *Lombardy*. The Doge *Loredano* in Perſon, propoſed to the Marquis to take upon him the Command of the Army of a Republick, whoſe Priſoner he then was; and he did not fail to ſet off his Offer with all thoſe Advantages of inſinuating Flattery, which the *Venetians* know ſo well how to practiſe, when they would engage foreign Officers in their Service. *Loredano*, however, did not fail to inſinuate to him, that ſince he had once before quitted the

Service of the Republick, it would be proper, in order to ſtop the Mouths of ſome of the Senators, who were miſtruſtful of him, to give ſome ſort of Security, that his engaging a Second time, ſhould be more ſecure and laſting: That as for himſelf, and many other Perſons of Note in the Government, they had always been of the mind, that the bare Word of a Sovereign, as he was, was a more than ſufficient Security.

The Marquis of *Mantua* being impatient to get out of Priſon, promiſed over and above what was required of him, without ever conſidering how far he muſt fail in the Performance; and immediately ſent for his Son to *Mantua*, to leave him as a Hoſtage at *Venice*; but the Marchioneſs of *Mantua*, who was a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Eſte*, was one of thoſe ſort of Women, who pay a blind Obedience to the Will of their Husbands, ſo long as that ſutes their own Inclination; but who ſubjects their Husbands Pleaſure to their Judgment, when that ſeems to croſs this. She, as many of that Sex do, was of the Opinion, that the Subordination and Obedience they are obliged to pay their Husbands, was founded meerly on Cuſtom and Prejudice; which ſuppoſes that Men have more Courage and Conſtancy than Women. Her Husband, as ſhe thought, doing a thing that ſhow'd neither of thoſe peculiar Qualities, ſhe thought her ſelf diſengaged from that Obedience and Subordination, which otherwiſe ſhe might be obliged to; and therefore refuſed to ſend her Son, becauſe by ſo doing, ſhe would ſeem to put her Seal to a Deed ſhe no wiſe approved of. *Lewis de Fermo*, who had been charged with her Husband's Commiſſion to her, carry'd back nothing to the Marquis who ſent him, but an earneſt Exhortation to bear his

his Misfortune with the greatneſs of Soul, and conſtancy of a Sovereign, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be ſeduced by thoſe mean Arguments that prevail with ordinary Priſoners of War, whom the uneaſineſs of Confinement, and ill-grounded hopes of Advancement upon their being ſet at Liberty, diſpoſe to take very ambiguous Courſes in order to it.

This Negotiation failing, the Senate ſeem'd inclin'd to give *And. Gritti* the Command of the Republick's Army, though contrary to their conſtant Cuſtom and Practice, of never putting a Noble *Venetian* at the Head of their Land-Forces. *Gritti* was one of the greateſt Subjects the Republick ever had, and one, who among an Illuſtrious Nobility, eminently well affected to their Country, deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed from all the reſt, for his being intirely devoted to its Intereſt. The noble and generous Love the Ancients bore their Native Country, ſeem'd to be reviv'd in him. Not long after the end of the War of *Cambray*, *Gritti* was choſe Doge; and among all the Candidates for that Dignity, the queſtion was not who had Merit, and who had not, but in whom the Qualities requiſite for that Office ſhone brighteſt.

*Gritti* knew himſelf too well, and was too wiſe to think that he was ſufficiently qualified in all Reſpects, becauſe he was in ſome. He had hitherto only commanded Fleets, and though he had often ſerved in the Army of the Republick, yet it had only been in quality of Proveditor, and not of General. To ſubſiſt an Army, and to preſerve Order in it, required one Talent; but to lead it on againſt an Enemy, and to give them Battle, required another. This was an Art not to be learned meerly by ſeeing, it muſt be acquired by long Uſe and Practice, and by a-

ſcending gradually by all thoſe Steps and Offices that are ſubordinate to it. *Gritti* therefore not having ſerved his Apprenticeſhip for the chief Command of a Land Army, was unwilling to be the Subject of a bad Choice; he did not believe that his generous Intentions, in not ſoliciting for, but unwillingly accepting this Command, would be a ſufficient excuſe for him, if any Diſaſter ſhould befal his Country by his Inſufficiency; and therefore, he us'd as much Solicitation to be excuſed for not accepting this Employment, as vain and ſelf-conceited Men do to obtain it. He wrote a Letter to the Senate, in which he told them, that if it had been in time of Peace, or if the Republick had been engaged in a War of no great Conſequence, he would have with the greateſt Submiſſion, received the Orders of his Superiours, without offering any Objections that might ſeem to inſinuate, that he ſaw further into Affairs than they did; but that the preſent caſe of his Country was not ſuch. That their All was at Stake, and that therefore no General could be too well qualified to command the Army they had raiſed, and were maintaining, in order to make their laſt effort for their Preſervation. That if they did match General with General, all their endeavours would be in vain, though they ſent into the Field a number of Troops equal to that of the Confederate Princes. In ſhort, ſaid he, however, an ordinary Pilot may ſteer a Ship in fair Weather, yet in time of a Storm, he only ſhould be put to the Helm, who has long tugged at the Oar. The Storm that had well-nigh overſet and ſunk our Republick, is not yet over.

The Senate having heard and conſidered *Gritti*'s Remonſtrances, began to think of another General, and reſolved that *Fregoſa* ſhould be the Perſon.

Perſon. This Man was the greateſt Talker of his Age, beſides, he was but a very indifferent Man, and a very ill Soldier; and therefore the *Venetians* did not employ him long, but ſoon ſent in his place *Malvezzi* and *Paul Baglione* ſucceſſively.

The Senate did not lay its greateſt Streſs, either upon their General or their Army; it was weaker than the *French* Army, which had beat that of the *Venetians* at *Vaila*, though the latter was ſuperiour in Number. The Senate depended more on the Juncture of Affairs, and the Services they expected from the Pope, whoſe averſion to *France*, had intirely reconciled him to the Republick. *Jerom Donato*, who then reſided at *Rome* in quality of Ambaſſadour from the Republick, was in great favour and confidence with the Pope, and by that means blindly led him into all the Meaſures that the *Venetians* ſuggeſted to him, and that with the greater aſſurance, that he knew himſelf able to impoſe upon the Pope's Credulity whatſoever he would. One of his Projects was, to oblige the Emperor to make a Separate Peace with the Republick; that Prince had no Inclination to make ſuch a Peace, and beſides, he had declared that he would make none, but upon ſuch Conditions as the *Venetians* could not grant. It was believed however, that he might be brought to more reaſonable Terms, by depriving him of the means of ſupporting the War. *Maximilian* was always diſpoſed to take the Field, but was ſeldom or never in a Condition to do it: He was Profuſe as well as Covetous; and as many Channels, as there were to carry Money into his Coffers, ſo many Holes there were in them to let it ſlip out; but he reckoned upon two certain Funds for ſupplying the charges of the Campaign he was then going

to open. The first was the Finances of the King of *France*, his Ally, and the other a Subsidy from the Empire, the Diet of which he had summon'd to meet at *Augsburg*. We shall presently see what Measures the Pope took to disable *Lewis* the 12*th* from assisting *Maximilian*; but to hinder the Emperor's getting the Subsidies he expected from *Germany*, the Pope sent his Nuntio to the Diet, to cross such Proposals as the Emperor should make to it. The *Venetians* likewise sent their secret Agents thither, to represent to the Princes and Ministers that composed the Assembly, how much it was for the interest of the Empire, to oppose the Emperor's Designs upon *Italy*.

However the Negotiations of the Nuntio, and the Endeavours and secret Practices of those Agents, might retard the Deliberations of the Diet, yet they all proved unsuccessful; and the Diet at last came to a Resolution of complying with the Emperor's Demands. In vain did all those Ministers endeavour to perswade the Diet, that the Emperour wanted nothing but Money to raise such an Army, as would enable him to change the Aristocracy of the Empire, into an absolute and despotick Monarchy; and that so soon as the Emperor should get sure footing, and establish his Power in *Italy*, he would draw from thence what Money he pleased, in order to put all his Designs in execution. It was to as little purpose that they represented to the Diet, that the Design of many of the Emperours of the House of *Austria* had been, instead of Heads of the *Germanick* Body, to make themselves absolute Masters of it; and that therefore the Liberty of the Empire depended on that of *Italy*. And lastly, that *Maximilian*'s Alliance with *France*, as it rob'd the Soveraignty of the several States of the Empire of its surest Support, so it enabled *Maximi-*

*lian*

*lian* to change the preſent Conſtitution of the Empire into what he pleaſed, without the leaſt Oppoſition. But the reeſtabliſhing the ancient Rights and Authority of the Empire in *Italy*, which *Maximilian* had propos'd to the Diet, was too much at the *Germans* Hearts, to ſuffer any thing to take Effect, that might hinder the Proſecution of it.

Beſides, *Maximilians* Propoſals were powerfully ſeconded by the *French* Plenipotentiary, and the Credit of his Maſter weighed very much in *Germany* at that time. The Plenipotentiary was a Man of great Worth and Reputation, and eſpecially valued for his great Eloquence, which mightily influenced, and produced great Effects, even at that time; his Name was *Lewis Helian*, a Native of *Verceil*, and Counſellor of State in *France*. This able Miniſter delivered a Speech againſt the *Venetians*, in the Diet, which at once ſhow'd him to be a Stateſman, and a Scholar. In that Speech he plainly charg'd the *Venetians* with the great Services they had done the Infidels, the fatal Conſequences of which, had been the Conquering of the *Holy Land* by the *Saracens*, and the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*. He further accuſed them of having ſacrificed the Intereſt of Chriſtendom to their private Reſentment, when with a deſign to mortify the old *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, for his having eſpouſed the Quarrel of the Duke of *Ferrara*, their Enemy; they had ſuffered *Otronto* to be taken by *Mahomet* the 2*d*, when without any Difficulty, they might have relieved the place by their Fleet. He made it appear, how the loſs of that Place, had laid all *Italy* open to the *Turks*, and that it was no leſs than a Miracle, that that Country had eſcaped its entire Deſolation. Nor did *Helian* neglect to inform the Diet, that the Workmen be-

longing to the Arſenal of *Venice*, and the Ammunition that had been ſent from thence to the Sultan of *Egypt*, and other *Eaſtern* Princes, had put them in a Condition to croſs effectually all the Endeavours of the *Portugueſe*, towards the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in the *Eaſt-Indies*, at the ſame time they were ſettling their Dominion there, and in *Arabia*. He exaggerated the baſeneſs and heinouſneſs of this Action, as proceeding meerly from the avarice of the *Venetians*, who were afraid that this new Eſtabliſhment of the *Portugueſe*, would be a Prejudice to their Trade. He moreover expoſed the unjuſtifiable means they had uſed to get poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and of their other Dominions in the *Eaſt*, and in *Italy*; Nor did he ſpare their Conduct at Home, more than their Management Abroad. He ſeverely reproached their barefaced and avowed Vices, and ſharply reproved their enormous Luxury; and, addreſſing himſelf to the Princes that were then preſent, The *Venetians*, ſays he, muſt forſooth be ſerved in Silver Plate, which none of you are. *Laſtly*, he took them to task for their vile Commedies, their Verſes, their Pictures, and Draughts, and Prints, and the other impudent Ways they took to inſult and affront their Neighbours, a thing very common in flouriſhing States, but too much practiſed by the *Venetians* at that time; who by theſe Satyrical Inventions of theirs, ſhow'd their contempt of other Nations, and their ſhameful Diſreſpect for Crown'd Heads. This Oratour concluded his Speech with an Exhortation to the Diet, to treat the *Venetians*, who were now their Petitioners, no otherwiſe than the Lord did *Antiochus*, when he implored a Pardon he was not like to obtain.

*Helian*

*Helian* ſhow'd, upon this Occaſion, his Talent at Verſe, as well as Proſe, to incenſe the Diet againſt the *Venetians*. During the Diet, he diſperſed two Poems of his own Compoſition, of the ſame Strain, and with the ſame intent as his Speech was. The Firſt is by way of a Fable, which he calls the hunting of the Lyon, alluding to the Republick of *Venice*, which bears St. *Mark*'s wing'd Lyon for its Coat of Arms. The Second is, one Exhortation to the Princes of the Empire, to reduce the *Venetians* to their Primitive State of poor Fiſhermen. This method of Negotiating, will not ſeem very grave and becoming, when compared with the Dignity and Decency of Behaviour, which publick Miniſters think themſelves obliged to obſerve in theſe times; but the times *Helian* lived in, muſt plead his Excuſe. The Rules of Decency and Formality, were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved then, as now; beſides, the love many had for genteel and uſeful Learning, which ſtill ſhow'd it ſelf the more, the ſlower that Learning reviv'd, gave ſuch a reliſh to every thing that was written with Wit and Spirit, that ſuch eſcapes were never minded, provided the Author ſaid nothing beneath the Dignity and Gravity of his Character. The Performances both in Verſe and Proſe of many eminent Perſons, who have been in great eſteem in the Church, during the Sixteenth Century, are plain evidences of this.

Moſt part of *Helians* Invectives, were grounded upon undeniable Truths, and unhappily for the *Venetians*, the reſt were founded upon Probabilities; and the firſt being true, was the reaſon why the other was believed. When any Government becomes odious, not only its indifferent Actions paſs for Crimes among Strangers, but even the moſt frivolous Reports, which no body will

will offer to vouch for, pass for matters of fact whereever they are spread to its Disadvantage. In a little time it came to pass, that no body durst so much as open their Mouth in favour of the *Venetians*; and the result of the Diet's Deliberations was, that they should be put under the Ban of the Empire. The Diet likewise ordained, That the several States and Members of the Empire, should furnish their Contingent, in order to put the Ban in Execution; and in Consequence of this, they granted *Maximilian* a Subsidy of Three hundred thousand Crowns of Gold.

So soon as the Diet was up, *Helian* went to *Buda*, and was so successful in his Negotiation there with the King of *Hungary*, that he soon prevailed with that Prince, to enter into the League of *Cambray*; in Consequence of which, he sent Orders to his Ambassadour at *Venice*, to declare War against that Republick, in case they did not surrender to him all they possess'd in *Dalmatia*, as belonging to the Crown of *Hungary*, as that King pretended, and which therefore ought in Justice to be reunited to it; but the Senate being now encouraged by the good effects of their Inflexibility, with relation to other Princes had produced, refused to yield one Inch; and the Doge in a haughty manner told the *Hungarian* Ambassadour, that if his Master wanted to fight, they were ready to engage him. Though *Hungary* had the Name of a Monarchy, yet it was govern'd rather like a Free State, aud there was no Republick in *Italy* more liable to all the Inconveniencies of an Aristocracy than it was, whether it was, that the States of that Country, without whose advice and consent, nothing could be done, did not approve of a War with the *Venetians*, or that the Resolutions they took, with relation to this Matter, were never put in Execution;

tion; this is certain, that though the King of *Hungary* declared War againſt the *Venetians*, yet he never made it.

About this time, the *Venetians* were baulk'd in their attempt of ſurprizing *Verona*. The Inhabitants of that Town, being diſſatisfied with the *Germans*, their new Maſters, invited their old ones to come and drive them out. The Plot was laid, and the firſt part of it ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Venetian* Troops entered the City at the Gate of St. *George*; but the Ladders they had brought to Scale the Walls of the Fortreſs proved too ſhort, as often happens in Enterprizes of this Nature: By this means the Garriſon had time to get to their Arms, and the *Venetians*, who had not come to Beſiege, but to Surprize, went back ſo ſoon as they found they were diſcovered, abandoning the Town, which they could not keep without being Maſters of the Forts. Some few Days after the Garriſon bethought themſelves of a Stratagem, for diſcovering ſuch of the Inhabitants as were moſt zealous for the *Venetians*, in order to puniſh them as Perſons guilty of a Conſpiracy, the Authors of which they could not diſcover. A Troop belonging to the Garriſon running through the City in a tumultuous manner, in the middle of the Night, beating the *Italian* March, and crying out, *Long live* St. *Mark*, a great many of the Inhabitants, raſhly believing that the *Venetians* were come back, welcomed them with joyful Acclamations, and at the ſame time beſtowed their Curſes very plentifully on the *Germans*. For fear of a Tumult, the Troop belonging to the Garriſon did no more at that time, than to take particular notice of the Houſes of thoſe indiſcreet Perſons; but ſo ſoon as Day-light came, they plundered the Houſes, and ſet the Maſters of them to Ranſom, as Perſons taken in the Service of the Enemy. The

The wavering State of the *Venetian* Affairs, and the prosperous Condition of those of *Lewis* the 12*th*, seemed to dispose the Pope, for some little time at least, to enter into a real friendship with a Prince, whom Success attended in every thing he undertook. *Maximilian* at that time was firm in his Alliance with *France*, and *Lewis* had renewed his former Treaties with the King of *England*. The *Swiss* indeed seemed displeased with *Lewis* the 12*th*, because he refused to augment the Pension he allowed the Cantons; but it was easy to believe, that they thought, the louder they cry'd out, the sooner they were like to be satisfied. In short, Money was the case; and a King of *France* should always have that ready to buy off the hatred, or to purchase the friendship of that People. The Pope began now to have Conferences with the Count of *Carpi*, which he had too much neglected to do, all the while that Minister had been at the Court of *Rome*; and his Holiness gave ground to believe, that he was sincerely disposed for a Reconciliation; By breaking with *France*, he was afraid least he should be left alone to maintain his own Quarrel; but *Julius* the 2*d* was no sooner informed that the King of *England* had comprehended him in that Prince's last Treaty with *France*, than he altered his Measures. It then appeared that his true Sentiments had been always the same, whatever he pretended, firmly believing, that if he was attacked by *France*, the King of *England*, in pursuance of his Treaty, would break with *Lewis*, he left off courting of that Prince; and after having waged War with him a long time underhand, he now gave himself the Satisfaction of declaring it openly.

*Alfonso d'Este*, Duke of *Ferrara*, was equally a friend of *Lewis* the 12*th*'s, and an Ally of the most

moſt Chriſtian King. The Pope pick'd a Quarrel with this Duke upon two Pretences: The firſt was, his having ſet up a ſort of a Cuſtom-Houſe on the *Po*, to exact a certain Toll of all Veſſels that went up or down that River. The Pope, as Sovereign Lord of *Ferrara*, required that this Office ſhould be put down, as having been ſet up without ſufficient Authority, and as a thing prejudicial to the Subjects of the *Roman* See: The Pope's other Demand was, that the Duke ſhould forbear Farming, or putting any certain Rate upon the Salt Mines of *Commachio*, the Product of which was a great part of this Prince's Revenues. The Pope alledged, that it was now in his power to put a ſtop to the Dukes making any Salt at *Commachio*, becauſe that by the Reunion of *Cervia* to the Dominions of the Church, all the Right the *Venetians* had in that Country, was now devolved to the See of *Rome*. For the better underſtanding of this Pretenſion, it is to be conſidered, that the Lords of the *Ferrara* had been in immemorial poſſeſſion of the Salt Works of *Commachio*, and had the intire diſpoſal of them till the year 1403. But *Albert d'Eſte*, Lord of *Ferrara*, ſiding with the *Carrati* againſt the *Venetians*, by the iſſue of that War was obliged to make a diſadvantageous Peace with the Republick. At that time, the *Venetians* endeavoured to Monopolize all the Salt in the Neighbourhood of their Gulph; and in order to that, ruined all the Salt Works that did not belong to themſelves. In the year 1381, they had by Treaty obliged the King of *Hungary* to drain all his Salt-water Springs, and to fill up all his Salt-Mines in *Croatia* and *Dalmatia*. The *Venetians* therefore would not conſent to make a Peace with the Lord of *Ferrara*, but upon Condition, that they ſhould be obliged to put down all their Salt Works at *Commachio*, and that

that they ſhould engage, that all their Subjects for the future, ſhould buy their Salt in *Cervia*. The Dukes of *Ferrara* had hitherto carefully obſerved theſe Conditions, but *Alfonſo*, believed that he might ſet up his Works at *Commachio* again, being now in open War with the *Venetians*; becauſe that during the War, the Obligations of former Treatiſes were for that time ſuſpended. It was then that the Pope, as poſſeſſor of *Cervia*, required that a ſtop might be put to thoſe Works, upon pretence, that he was now inveſted with the Right the *Venetians* had over the Salt-Works of *Commachio*, the product of which was prejudicial to the Salt-Trade within the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions.

The Anſwer the Duke made to this Demand was, that his Anceſtors had never treated on this Subject, with any one as particular Lord of *Cervia*, but with the Republick of *Venice*. That it was indifferently within any part of their Dominions, that his Anceſtors had obliged their Subjects to buy their Salt, and that it was only by accident that *Cervia* had been appointed for the place from whence they ſhould export it. That the hard Article which had ſo tied up the Hands of the Lords of *Ferrara*, had been obſerved no longer than Seventy Years; and that this Term was expired in the year 1473. That they had been forced to obſerve that Article by the Menaces of the *Venetians*, which being an Act of great Injuſtice in that Republick, the Duke of *Ferrara* ought to have Redreſs, and be reſtored to his Right by the Treaty of *Cambray*. That therefore the Pope could plead nothing from his poſſeſſing of *Cervia*, for the exerciſe of a Power, which at the bottom was unjuſt, and which was never appropriated to that Town by any ſpecial Priviledge, but only aſſumed by the Republick;

and

and that this Right was now extinct, even with regard to the Republick it ſelf; and therefore, that it ought to be held as null and void, to all intents and purpoſes.

As to what related to the Cuſtom-Houſe that the Duke had ſet up on the *Po*, he pleaded, that conſidering the nature of his Fief, he had ſufficient power to do it; and that the Pope's Sovereignty over the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, gave him no other Power within that Country, than to exact the Duties contained in the Inveſtiture. Thoſe Duties were, that the Fief ſhould be held of the Church; that the Perſon Inveſted, ſhould upon certain Occaſions come to the Service of the Church, with a ſpecified number of Men at Arms, and that he ſhould pay the Church a certain yearly Acknowledgment. The Duke pleaded further, that his Predeceſſors had been actually in poſſeſſion of the Government of *Ferrara*, before they acknowledged the Pope, and declared themſelves his Vaſſals; and that their doing ſo, was rather out of a principle of Devotion, than for any Protection they could expect from his Holineſs, who was then in no very good Condition to give them any. That therefore, in the Fief of *Ferrara*, which was a Fief freely confer'd on a Sovereign Prince, the Royalty, and all other Rights of Government belonged to the Feudatary Lord, ſince he was not deprived of any of them by his Inveſtiture. That in the Inveſtitures granted by the Popes, to the Lords of *Ferrara*, there was nothing contained prejudicial to the Feudatary, with relation to this Matter; and that for a long time he had been in the peaceable Poſſeſſion and Enjoyment of thoſe Rights. That this Royalty, or Prerogative, included the Right of Arms. That Troops could not be kept up without Pay, and that they muſt be

paid

paid by laying Duties and Taxes upon the People. That it belonged to him who had the Administration of Justice in any Country, to lay on Taxes in such a Way and Manner, as should be least burthensome to the Subjects, and that this exercise of Justice was unquestionably a Royal Prerogative; that the Power of imposing Duties were so link'd with the Right of Arms, and the Administration of Justice, that all Sovereign Princes and States, who would tie up the Hands of their Feudataries, who enjoy the Right of Prerogative, from setting up any Toll or Custom within their Fiefs, would certainly insert in their Investitures, the express Condition not to establish any such Office, or some positive Proviso, or some other Act which should be as a Law to the Feudatary in that Matter. That the Investiture of the Lords of *Ferrara*, made no manner of mention of any Obligation not to establish Toll or Custom, and consequently that the Common Right of Feudataries was left intire to them. That the Popes had never questioned, or protested against, the Tolls or Customs imposed by the Kings of *Naples*, though they had been as much Vassals of the Church, as the Dukes of *Ferrara*: And lastly, that the Duke of *Ferrara* could not believe that the Pope would, on this occasion, make use of that general Law, which some of his Predecessors had endeavoured to establish; that is, That Christian Princes could not lay any Duty or Tax upon their own Subjects, without the consent of the See of *Rome*.

It is true, that the Lords of *Este*, were very powerful at *Ferrara* in the thirteenth Century, when the Pope gave them the Investiture of that Dutchy, as a Fief of the *Roman* See; but the Conditions upon which those Lords were then content to obtain that Investiture, show that they

recei-

received it as a ſpecial favour, and that they believed that it was impoſſible for them to rule at *Ferrara*, without being ſupported by the Authority of the Pope. The Conditions of the Inveſtiture were, that *Azzo d'Eſte* ſhould ſerve the Holy See with a hundred Men at Arms, that he ſhould pay yearly to the Apoſtolical Chamber, an acknowledgment of ten thouſand Crowns of Gold, which was an exceſſive Sum in thoſe Days. His ſubjecting himſelf to ſuch a Vaſſalage, look'd liker farming the Ferrareſe, than holding it as a Fief.

The Pope being reſolved to ſtop his Ears againſt all the Reaſons the Duke could offer, was not in the leaſt influenced by all thoſe above-recited. He threatned the Duke with immediate Excommunication, if he did not forthwith obey, and to ſtrike the greater Terror in him, he ordered his Gendarmery to advance into *Romagna* and the *Bologneſe*. The Duke of *Ferrara* had recourſe to the King of *France*, which was what the Pope expected; which Intereſt ſoever the King eſpouſed, his Holineſs hoped to reap benefit by it. If the King ſhould forſake the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Julius* the 2*d* hoped thereby to ſink his Credit and Reputation. If that Prince eſpouſed the Duke's Quarrel, it would give his Holineſs ground for a Rupture with *France*, and a Right to uſe open force againſt that Kingdom: The King took the Duke of *Ferrara* under his Protection, and the Pope, as is uſual for thoſe who are moſt to blame, exclaimed againſt it as an act of the greateſt Injuſtice. He complained that this was an abetting of his Vaſſal againſt him; and that the King of *France*, by protecting the Duke of *Ferrara*, was guilty of an evident breach of the Treaty of *Cambray*, by which it was ſtipulated, that all the Powers contracting, ſhould to their

utmoſt maintain all the Rights, Dignities, and Prerogatives of the See of *Rome*. It was eaſy to anſwer all theſe Complaints, by ſaying, that the Duke of *Ferrara* encroach'd upon none of the Rights of the Holy See; that the Duke being comprehended in the Treaty of *Cambray*, by the poſitive conſent of the Pope himſelf, as a Sovereign that had the Right to take up Arms, and to make Alliances, his Allies were, by that Treaty, obliged to ſupport and maintain his Right, as ſuch: But this Pope, as Hiſtorians ſay, was more careful to reap advantage by the Quarrels he made, than to give Reaſons for making them.

In the mean time, the Campaign of 1510, was now opened: The Count of *Hanaw*, the Emperour's Lieutenant General in *Italy*, had aſſembled a Body of five hundred Spearmen, and three thouſand Foot at *Verona*. *Chaumont* joined him at that place with fifteen hundred Men at Arms, and ten thouſand Foot; thoſe two Generals being join'd, march'd directly to *Vicenza*. The *Venetian* Army kept at a good diſtance before the other, and not thinking it adviſeable to defend that Place, entrench'd themſelves at *Brentelli*, as a Poſt they could not be attack'd in, by reaſon of the Rivers that cover'd it. The Inhabitants of *Vicenza*, finding themſelves thus abandon'd by the *Venetians*, ſent their Magiſtrates to preſent the Keys of their Town to the Count of *Hanaw*, and to beg his Pardon for having ſurpriz'd and drove out the *German* Garriſon the year before. The Pathetick Speech thoſe Magiſtrates made the Count on this Occaſion, is related at large by *Guicciardin*. The Count, as this Hiſtorian ſays, was nothing moved by this Speech, being ſwelled *with barbarous Inſolence, and* German *Cruelty*. *Chaumont* ſhow'd more Humanity to the poor

poor *Vicentines*, and by his Interceſſion ſaved their Lives; but all their Effects were given for a Prey to the ravenous Soldiers. The Count purſued the poor *Vicentines* to the very Holes and Dens of the Mountains, whether they had run to hide themſelves; moſt part of them ſhut themſelves up in a vaſt Cave, which they thought was the moſt inacceſſible; and the *Germans*, believing it impoſſible to force them out of it, lighted Fires at the Mouth of it, and by the Smoak of it, choak'd to Death thoſe unhappy Creatures, who had fled thither to ſave their Lives.

After the ſacking of *Vicenza*, moſt part of the Emperour's Soldiers, who ſeldom received any Pay, deſerted; and by this means the Deſign of beſieging *Padoua* a ſecond time proved abortive. *Chaumont* being diſabled for executing any thing that was more for the ſervice of the League, reſolved to retake *Legnago*, which was the only Paſs the *Venetians* had upon the higher *Adige*. This River runs through the middle of that Town, and that part of it which lies on the left ſide of the River, is called the Port. The *Venetians* had drawn Ditches round that Place, and let the Water of the *Adige* into them. That was the ſide of the Town which *Chaumont* was to come at firſt, as he came from *Vicenza*. The Day he encamped at *Minerbio*, the Garriſon of *Legnago* march'd out to view him, but the *French* Infantry having drove them back to the brink of the firſt Ditch, and forced them to throw themſelves into the Water to get over, they ſo diſheartned the *Italians*, that they retired in the greateſt Confuſion, and ſuffered the *French* to enter the Port pelmell with them. Immediately *Chaumont* ordered a Body of Men to advance from the other ſide of the *Adige*, attack'd the Town of *Legnago* ſo warmly, that in a few Days the Garriſon abandon'd it, and endeavour'd to ſave their

Lives through the Water that then overflow'd the neighbouring Grounds, and the Caſtle being left almoſt defenceleſs, was forced to Capitulate.

It was at this place that *Chaumont* received the melancholy News of his Uncle, the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*'s Death, which was not only a great affliction to his Family, but fatal to *France*, conſidering the then juncture of Affairs. This Prelates great Virtues, might juſtly be thought to ſupply what was wanting in the brightneſs of his Parts, and the extent of his Knowledge. His ſtock of Patience was ſo great, that he could without any uneaſineſs, ſtay till a proper ſeaſon happened for doing what he deſigned: His Courage made Dangers appear no greater than Inconveniencies, which might well retard, but not prevent the execution of what he had propoſed; and he thought nothing impoſſible, but what was not ſo much as feaſible. His conſtancy never allow'd him to alter the Plan of Affairs he had fix'd on, notwithſtanding all the Rubs and Difficulties that often happen in the execution of the wiſeſt Projects. He was indued with ſuch reſolution, and firmneſs of Mind, that he could never be diverted from his Purpoſe, by all the Intreaties of his Friends, nor by the earneſt Solicitations of obſtinate and ſelf-willed People. His Perſeverance was proof againſt Time, and the ſlowneſs of Men, and the malicious Diſcourſe of Courtiers. So great was the Confidence his Maſter repoſed in him, that it is very probable he would have prevented the open Rupture between *France* and the Pope, had he lived a little longer; not but that he was very ſenſible of all the unjuſt Proceedings of *Julius* the 2*d*, but he very well knew likewiſe, that there are Seaſons and Conjunctures in which Princes muſt ſmother their Reſentment, and put off their Revenge to another

another Oportunity: It was for ſome time thought, that the Death of the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, would be a means to reconcile the King of *France* with the Pope. *Julius* the 2*d* expreſs'd an infinite Joy for the Death of the Cardinal, and he could not forbear unboſoming himſelf to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadour; but this Death had no other effect, than multiplying grounds of Quarrel between thoſe two Princes. The Pope demanded the Cardinal's Treaſure, which, as 'twas ſaid, amounted to three hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold in Specie, as a thing he ought to ſucceed to. The King refuſed to give it him, and by that means gave him new ground of Trouble, at leaſt of Complaint.

So little care did the Emperor take of his own Concerns, and eſpecially of keeping up an Army in *Italy*, that *Chaumont* was forced to put a *French* Garriſon in *Legnago*, to keep that place in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty; by the Treaty of *Cambray*, this Town was allotted to the Emperor; whilſt *Chaumont* was preparing to return to his own Government, he received Orders from the King, to continue longer in the Service of the Emperor. There had been a New Agreement made between *Lewis* the 12*th*, and *Maximilian*, by which *Lewis* lent that Prince a hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, and his Army upon Condition, that he ſhould have *Verona* as a Pledge, till he was fully reimburſed and ſatisfied.

In the beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Termini* join'd *Chaumont* with a Body of four hundred *Spaniſh* Spearmen. Theſe were the Troops the King of *Arragon* was obliged to furniſh the Emperor, by the Treaty of *Cambray*: So ſoon as this Army had drawn a part of the *German* Garriſon out of *Verona*, it march'd to *Monſelicia*, which is a

little Town between *Este* and *Padoua*; the taking of which would have very much facilitated the Emperor's carrying the War into the heart of the *Venetian* Dominions.

*Soncino Berizone*, a Native of *Crema*, and actually a Colonel of Foot in the *French* Service, having ſtept a little out of the way during the March, was carried off by a Party of the Enemy. The *Venetians* ordered him to be hang'd as a Traytor, notwithſtanding his Commiſſion, and though he pleaded, that by the evacuating *Crema*, his Native Country, they had, according to the Law of Nations, diſengaged him from his Oath of Fidelity: His Death was ſufficiently revenged upon the Garriſon of *Monſelicia*. A Detachment of the *Gaſcon* Infantry, that were only ſent to view a little breach which the Beſiegers Attillery had made in the Place, advanced much nearer than the *Italians*, had they been ſent to execute ſuch Orders, would have done. The Garriſon imagining that they were juſt going to make the Aſſault, left the Rampart, and retired behind the inner Works; but they made this Motion with ſo much Precipitation and Confuſion, that the *French* enter'd at the ſame time with them. The like Accident happened, when the Garriſon would have retir'd ſtill further within a third Work that was in the Place. The Caſtle was inſulted in the like manner, and the Soldiers in the Garriſon that were not kill'd amidſt all this Tumult and Confuſion, ſav'd themſelves in the Towers to the Number of Seven hundred, who deſiring to Capitulate, it was anſwer'd them, That the Laws of War allowed no Protection to thoſe who obſerved them ſo ill as they had done: To avenge the Death of *Berizone*, they ſet fire to the Tower, and all thoſe that were in it, periſhed in the Flames. This was the laſt Exploit

Exploit of this Army, unleſs one take a raſh Action of four hundred *Frenchmen* at Arms, for a Military Expedition; they made an Incurſion as far as the very Wails of *Padoua*, in which the greateſt part of the *Venetian* Army had ſhut themſelves up. This Action was bold enough in it ſelf, but what made it the more remarkable, was the foolhardineſs of ſome young *French* Bravado's, who would needs break their Lances, that were adorned with Ribbons of their Ladies Livery, againſt the Gates of the Town. This ſort of Gallantry was very uſual at that time, as well as that of writing their Miſtreſſe's Name upon that part of the Wall of a beſieged Town, where the greateſt danger was.

After taking of *Monſelicia*, the *Germans* deſired that the Confederate Army might march to *Treviſo*, repreſenting how eaſily it might be taken; but the News *Chaumont* had received, did not allow him to keep the *French* Troops any longer at ſuch a diſtance from his Maſters Dominions. The Duke of *Urbino*, at the Head of the Pope's Troops, was ravaging the *Ferrareſe*. The *Swiſs* were preparing to make an Irruption into *Milan*, and a Fleet of *Venetian* Ships, with thoſe belonging to the Pope, appear'd in the River *Genoua*, and it was reported that thoſe who had been baniſhed out of that Dominion were on board. *Chaumont* left four hundred Spearmen, and fifteen hundred *Spaniſh* Foot, that were in the King of *France*'s pay, for a Guard to the Emperour's Conqueſts. He ſent another Detachment to ſuccour the Duke of *Ferrara*, and march'd the reſt of his Troops into his own Government, to make Head againſt the *Swiſs*, if they ſhould attempt an Irruption into *Milan*, and to prevent a Deſcent from the Fleet. The Deſign of the Fleet proved an abortive and fruitleſs Attempt;

the Deſcent was attempted two or three times, and as often thoſe that made it were repulſed, and retired: finding the *French*, whom they thought to have ſurpriz'd, upon their Guard, and ready to receive them; but the Ill-will the Pope bore to *France*, was more gratified on other Occaſions.

Though the Duke of *Ferrara* had aſſurance given him of Protection from the King of *France*, and might have depended upon it, yet he made all poſſible Submiſſion to the Pope, in order to appeaſe him, but without effect. Nor could all the Intereſt and Mediation of *Maximilian*, who repreſented to the Pope, that he was bound to protect *Alfonſo d'Eſte*, by reaſon that moſt part of his Dominions, and eſpecially that which was the ground of the preſent Quarrel, was a Fief of the Empire, divert his Holineſs from his purpoſe of diſpoſſeſſing the Duke of *Ferrara*. He began to treat him as a Rebellious Vaſſal, by refuſing to receive the acknowledgment of Homage which the Duke of *Ferrara* ordered to be preſented to him, on the Eve of St. *Peter*. This is the Day on which the Feudataries of the Church make their Acknowledgments of Service and Homage to it. The Pope alledged, that the Duke ought to have paid the ancient Acknowledgment of ten thouſand Crowns of Gold; and that whatever eaſe Pope *Alexander* the *6th* might have given the Duke of *Ferrara* in this matter, was of no force, and could be no Precedent, after the Death of that Pope. Pope *Alexander* the *6th*, being deſirous to gratify this Prince, when he obliged him to marry his Daughter, the celebrated *Lucretia Bergia*, had ſunk the ancient Acknowledgment the Duke of *Ferrara* was obliged to pay yearly to the Apoſtolical Chamber, from ten, to three thouſand Crowns of Gold. *Julius* the *2d* abſolutely

lutely refuſing to accept the three thouſand Crowns of Gold, the Duke then knew what he was to expect.

About the beginning of *July*, the Army of the Church advanced to the very Gates of *Ferrara*; having in its march taken all the little Places in that Country, that lay in their way; but ſo ſoon as *Chaumont*'s Succours came up, the Pope's Troops retired, though they were ſuperiour in Number to their Enemy, leaving behind them a part of their Artillery, which had advanced too far to be brought back again, conſidering the Precipitation of their Retreat. They found means however to enter *Modena*, the *Rangoni*, who were as powerful in the City, as the Sovereign himſelf, having opened the Gates to the Pope's Troops; either becauſe they were diſpleaſed with the Duke of *Ferrara*, or becauſe, by this piece of Service, they hop'd to receive no ſmall Recompence from the Pope.

The *Swiſs*'s Alliance with *France* expir'd in the Year 1510. It had been concluded at *Lucern*, on the 16*th* of *March* 1500. for the term of ten Years, upon condition that the King of *France* ſhould pay to each of the Ten Cantons, a yearly Penſion of one thouſand Crowns of Gold. So ſoon as there was any motion made for the renewing the Alliance, the *Swiſs* began to raiſe their Price, and demanded an augmentation of their Penſion, to double the Sum they had received before, to be divided a-among them in ſuch manner, as they ſhould think beſt. The King refuſed to augment their Penſion above twelve thouſand Crowns, and that only, becauſe the Cantons of *Baſil* and *Scaffhauſen*, who had formed themſelves into Cantons ſince the Treaty of *Lucern*, ſhould come in for an equal ſhare with the other Ten Cantons. To this offer of *Lewis*, the *Swiſs* anſwered very haughtily, That no body ever hagled with ſuch brave

Men,

Men, who had done too great Services to have any rate put upon them. That they must be taken at their Word, and that they must have twenty thousand Crowns of Gold or nothing. *Lewis* the 12*th* being vexed, that a People, whom the King of *France*, to use *Philip d'Commines*'s Expression, *had brought into the Light of the World*, should presume to dictate the Conditions of a Treaty, instead of courting his favour, the more to mortify them, took some *German* Troops into his Service; but this was not a proper time to save his Money, nor to stand so much upon the point of Honour.

The Diet held at *Lucern* in this juncture of Affairs, having absolutely refused to renew the League with *France*, upon the Conditions that *Lewis* had proposed, their former Alliance ceased. On the other hand, the Diet accepted the Conditions of a Treaty that the Pope proposed, and resolved that a Body of Troops should be immediately sent into *Italy*, that should obey the Pope's Orders: Notwithstanding all this, the *Swiss* were unwilling to break intirely with *France*. So long as that Crown possess'd the Dutchy of *Milan*, it was no hard matter for it to starve *Switzerland*, which was not so well Cultivated at that time, as 'tis now; and therefore the Diet came to a Resolution, that the *Swiss* who were to march into *Italy*, where they must necessarily make War with the *French*, should not in this Expedition, march under the Banners of the Cantons, but under the particular Banner of the Canton of *Schwitz*. This Mask was easily seen through, since the Canton, which was one of the least States of the *Helvetick* Body, was not able to furnish a sixth part of the Troops that were going into *Italy*, without the Assistance and Succour of their Allies.

The Canton of *Schwitz* had ground of Complaint,

plaint, but ſuch as was peculiar to it ſelf; and which was a more plauſible colour for their Hoſtilities, than the refuſal of a Sum of Money, which at the bottom was not due. One of this Cantons Meſſengers, who was travelling through the *Milaneze*, had been apprehended as a ſuſpected Perſon, by the *French* Garriſon at *Locarno*. The *French* had ſeized the Diſpatches he had been intruſted with, and afterwards thrown him into *Lago Maggiore*; not thinking this enough, they aggravated the Affront they had done, by inſulting the Conton he belonged to; for they ſet to Sale by way of Auction, in the middle of *Milan*, the Silver Medal, with the Arms of the Canton of *Schwitz* on it, which this Meſſenger bore as the Badge of his Employment. This is a ſhort account of the Matter, at leaſt ſuch as the *Swiſs* Hiſtorians give of it. The *Swiſs* being eager to fight with the *French*, who had touch'd them to the quick, by hiring *Griſons* and *German* Infantry in their place, as if the *French* meant to ſhow the World, that they could be without the *Swiſs*, had aſſembled themſelves on their Frontiers, to the number of forty thouſand Men, and were actually in motion to invade the Dominions of *Milan*, when *Chaumont* arrived there. He having left nine hundred Men compleatly armed, and a great many of his Infantry in the Service of the Emperor, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, could not aſſemble, without draining his Garriſon, above a thouſand Spearmen, and ſeven or eight thouſand Foot; beſides, he was obliged to divide this little Army, becauſe he was not ſure what rout the *Swiſs* would take, whether they would march down into *Italy* by the *Val d'Aoſte*, in order to gain the River of *Genoua*, croſs *Piedmont*, at the ſame time the Enemy's Fleet appear'd there to make a Deſcent; or whether they would march through the *Milaneze*, in order to join the *Venetian* Army

Army on the banks of the *Adda*. With the consent of the Duke of *Savoy*, *Chaumont* put some Troops into *Yvrea*, to shut up the Passage of the *Val d' Aoste*, and posted five hundred Spearmen in the Plain, that lies at the opening of the narrow Passes of the Mountains. But by the *Swiss*'s Rendevouzing at *Bellinzone*, his Doubts were removed, and he then saw plainly, that their design was to fall down into the Dutchy of *Milan*, properly so called. It was certainly a great oversight in the *French*, to let *Bellinzone*, which was a Town situated at the foot of the *Alps*, and that opened an easy Passage into *Italy*, remain in the hands of the *Swiss*. Till the year 1500, it belong'd to the Dominion of *Milan* : but that year the Cantons of *Schwiss*, *Uri*, and *Underwald*, possess'd themselves of it, upon *Milan*'s changing its Masters, and upon some old Pretensions those Cantons had to that Territory. It was but a very few Days after *Lewis* the *More* was made Prisoner at *Novara*, that they made themselves Masters of this Place. The *French* might at first have purchas'd it from those three Cantons, for a small sum of Money ; but they were negligent in their Negotiations with those People, who the longer they possess'd it, the more they were sensible of its Importance to them. At last they became so much convinced of what great Consequence, the having of this Passage would be to them, that all the Offers the *French* could make them, were not able to get *Bellinzone* out of their hands. *Lewis* the 12*th* to prevent a Rupture with these People, was obliged, by the Treaty of *Arona*, on the 11*th* of *April* 1503, to grant this Town with the Territory belonging to it, to those three Cantons that were then in possession of it, and who keep it to this Day.

On the 6*th* of *September* the *Swiss* Army march'd down into the *Milaneze*, and encamped at *Castiglione*.

*glione*. *Chaumont* with his little Army, was then about ſix Miles from the Camp, with a deſign to prevent the Enemy, if they ſhould march towards *Milan*, or to be in a readineſs in caſe they ſhould go directly to *Caſſano*, in order to paſs the *Adda* at that place. The laſt was the courſe they took, and in three or four Marches, they came and encamped near *Como*. Their march was the longer for their taking this Rout, but by a neceſſary Precaution, they found themſelves obliged to do it; by ſo doing, almoſt their whole march was through a mountainous Country, which ſecured them from any diſturbance of the *French Gendarmery*; whereas had they taken the ſhorteſt way, they muſt have march'd over ſeveral open Plains, where they muſt have been expos'd. *Chaumont* kept pace with them, and obſerved them, during the whole march; but his deſign being not to provoke ſuch a Warlike People, who had not yet openly broke with *France*, choſe rather to oblige them to return, than to give them Battle. In order to which, he cauſed to be carried off all the Proviſions that were in thoſe places through which they were to paſs, and harraſs'd them Day and Night, with the handful of Light-Horſe he had in his Army. His Project ſucceeded, and the *Swiſs* being pinched with Hunger, returned to their own Country, after ſeveral fruitleſs Marches.

The *Venetians* had flattered themſelves that the Diverſion the *Swiſs* were to make, would produce ſome favourable event for them, or at leaſt that it would give the *French* work enough for a long time. In hopes of this, they reſolved on the Siege of *Verona*; and *Malvezzi*, who was now General of the *Venetian* Forces, in the place of *Baglione*, who had left their Service, had Orders to form it. His Army conſiſted of eight hundred Men compleatly armed, three thouſand Light-

Light-Horſe, and ten thouſand mercenary Foot, beſides the *Venetian* Militia. This Army was attended by a great number of Pioneers, moſt part of whom had come of their own accord. No Nation ever ſhow'd more zeal for the Service of their native Prince, than the *Venetian* Peaſants expreſs'd for the Service of St. *Mark*, during the whole courſe of this War. They devoted themſelves ſo far to the Service of their Maſters, as to run the danger of being their Spies; nor were the Accidents and Hazards they underwent, nor the Misfortunes of the Republick, able to cool their ardour for the Service of their Country. Hiſtorians give many Inſtances and Examples of theſe miſerable People's chooſing to ſuffer all the Indignities that unruly and bloody Soldiers could put upon them, and even Death it ſelf, rather than to do or ſay any thing that might ſeem to revile, or appear diſreſpectful to their Republick. The Firmneſs and Conſtancy of this dutiful Affection, reflects more Honour on them, than all the Praiſes that Panegiriſts can beſtow upon them. The love of Subjects to their unfortunate Sovereigns, does not laſt long, eſpecially when the People are not very ſenſible that their Princes governed them according to Law and Juſtice.

But it was the Republick's unhappineſs, that their Troops did not ſhow ſo much Courage, as their Subjects did Fidelity. All that Foreſight and Opulency could do to carry on and facilitate a Siege, was to be ſeen in the *Venetian* Camp before *Verona*, and there was nothing wanting there, but good Troops; but all the Treaſure of the Republick, and all the Wiſdom and Conduct of the Senate, could not give Courage to their cowardly Soldiers, when there was occaſion for it. The Works they threw up before the Place, were always demoliſhed before they were finiſhed;

finiſhed; and if their ſmall Courage and Diligence had ſucceeded ſo far as to plant ſome pieces of Cannon on their Batteries, the Beſieged had the aſſurance to march out with their Drums beating, and carry them into the Town. The impoſſibility of taking *Verona*, was a ſufficient reaſon for raiſing the Siege; but *Chaumont*'s coming to relieve the place, after he had ſeen the *Swiſs* into their own Country, gave the Beſiegers a fair Pretence for doing it. Upon *Chaumont*'s approach, the *Venetian* Army retir'd to St. *Boniface*, behind the *Aldego*, and encamped in a ground that was ſo covered by that River, and the adjoining Moraſſes, that it was impoſſible for the art of Man to force them. The War was leſs unfortunate to the *Venetians*, in the Mountainous Country, than in the Plain; for the Advantages they had about *Trieviſo*, and *Friuli*, were equal to thoſe of the *Germans*, but there happen'd nothing very remarkable.

*Julius* the 2*d* at once received the mortifying News of the Retreat of the *Swiſs*, the raiſing of the Siege of *Verona*, and of his Second Attempt upon *Genoua* being fruſtrated. He had ſent the ſame Fleet that had made the firſt attempt on that Place, to try it a ſecond time; it was upon this Fleet's ſetting Sail a ſecond time, that he openly declared War againſt *France*. He ordered the Cardinal *d'Auch*, who managed that King's Affairs at *Rome*, to be confined to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*. He gave his ſolemn Benediction to the Flag of the Admiral Ship, and allowed his Fleet to put up the Flag of the Church; but all this was not able to make the Expedition ſucceſsful, againſt the Precautions that the *French* had uſed to diſappoint it. The reſult of all this Preparation was, that the *Venetians* had five of their Gallies caſt away in their return home; and one Misfortune treading upon the Heels of another

another, the *Pope* began to liſten to ſuch Propoſals as *Lewis* the 12*th* made for an Accommodation, though at the ſame time he was fully reſolved not to part with his beloved Project, of driving the *French* out of *Italy*. He meaſured that *King*'s Reſentment againſt himſelf by the averſion he had for the King, knowing himſelf incapable of being over-ſincerely reconciled to *Lewis* the 12*th*, he ſuppoſed that Prince had the ſame Diſpoſition towards him; and that the only way left to ſecure himſelf, was to put it out of *Lewis*'s Power to do him any harm. *Lewis* however was fully diſpoſed to friendſhip with the *Pope*, and would have done and granted any thing that was Reaſonable and Juſt, in order to a ſincere Reconciliation with him. This Diſpoſition and good Inclination in *Lewis*, was the effect of the earneſt and continual Solicitations of *Anne de Bretagne*, Queen of *France*, to whom the *King* could deny nothing. *Lewis* the 12*th* had paſſionately loved this Lady, long before he married her; and the conſtancy of his Love during their married State, diſcovered it ſelf in the Grief he expreſs'd for her Death. Such was the Piety of this good Princeſs, that ſhe thought it was impoſſible to be at once a dutiful Child of the Church, and at variance with the Court of *Rome*. So ſoon as the *King* knew what meaſures his Holineſs was going to take with the Duke of *Ferrara*, he ordered the Count *de Carpi*, his Miniſter at *Rome*, to uſe all his Endeavours for compromiſing the Differences that were between the *Pope* and that *Prince*. The Duke was to ſtand to the Deciſion of ſuch Sovereign Princes, as the *Pope* ſhould think fit to name for Umpires: And this would have gain'd him the Cauſe, but the *Pope* did not Negotiate long upon this Plan, and in a little time he declined giving ear to the Count *de Carpi*, who made the Propoſal; he alledged, that no

Feuda-

Feudatary ought to have any one to judge between him and his Sovereign Lord: That the Feudatary ought to ſubmit to his Lord's Diſcretion, and that the *King* of *France* ought not to interfere or meddle any otherwiſe, than by his Intreaties. What made the *Pope* ſo haughty, was his having lately concluded a Treaty with the *King* of *Arragon*, by which he had a Right to diſpoſe of the *Spaniſh* Army that was in *Italy*, as he thought beſt.

The *Pope* did by this Treaty, oblige himſelf to give *Ferdinand* the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which till then he had refuſed, upon no other Acknowledgment, than that of a yearly preſenting his Holineſs with a Pad, and two thouſand Crowns of Gold. This Acknowledgment was no other, than what the *Kings* of the Baſtard-Houſe of *Arragon* formerly paid for their poſſeſſion of that Fief of the Church; but *Julius* the 2*d* might have exacted a much greater Duty of *Ferdinand*, becauſe he did not deſire his Right from them, but required a new Inveſtiture from the *Pope*. The two laſt Inveſtitures of that Kingdom, did bear a yearly Acknowledgment of eight and forty thouſand Crowns of Gold, and the Perſons inveſted, accepted upon thoſe Conditions. The Inveſtitures I have now mentioned, were thoſe which *Pope Alexander* the 6*th* gave ſucceſſively to *Charles* the 8*th*, and *Lewis* the 12*th King of France*, when they were *Kings* of *Naples*. This Acknowledgment was the ſame with that which *Pope Clement* the 4*th* impoſed on *Charles*, a Son of *France*, and Duke of *Anjou*, when he gave him the Inveſtiture of this Kingdom. It was hardly to be thought, that *Julius* the 2*d* would have given up ſo conſiderable an Advantage, which the Holy See had acquired at a time when it left no Stone unturned for its

own Intereſt, in matters of much leſs Conſequence than this was; but it too often happens, that Princes view the intereſt of their Kingdoms through the merit of their own Paſſions; Hatred magnifies thoſe Intereſts to their Light, and Friendſhip diminiſhes them. *Julius* the 2*d* bore too great a grudge to *France*, to refuſe his Friendſhip to any Prince that he thought could aſſiſt him to do prejudice to that Crown. *Ferdinand*, in whoſe power it was to do much harm to the *French*, became ſeemingly a dear Friend of the *Pope*'s, and tendered ſuch Intereſts of the Church, as he would willingly have ſacrific'd very inconſiderable in his Holineſſe's Eyes. The Inveſtiture of *Naples* was drawn up upon the old foot of a yearly Acknowledgment of two thouſand Crowns of Gold; but upon Condition, that *Ferdinand* ſhould literally make good that Clauſe of Inveſtiture, which obliged the *Kings* of *Naples* to ſerve the See of *Rome* in all its Wars, with all their Forces.

The *Venetian* Ambaſſador puſh'd on *Julius* the 2*d* to thoſe Meaſures, he was already too much inclined to, which was, to demand boldly Satisfaction to all his Pretenſions. This able Miniſter had dexterity enough to make the *Pope* believe, that with the *Spaniſh* Troops, and the aſſiſtance of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and the Efforts that the Republick of *Venice* would make, his Holineſs would be put in a Condition to give Laws to his Enemies. Nothing could contribute ſo much to the Safety and Preſervation of the *Venetians*, as Ruptures and Quarrels among their neighbouring Princes and States.

Some Months before this, the Marquis of *Mantua* had been releas'd from his Confinement, by the interceſſion of his old Friend, the Grand Signior. *Bajazet*, with whom the Marquis had kept

kept a conſtant Correſpondence, with a deſign to obtain his Protection againſt the *Venetians*, thoſe formidable Neighbours of the *Mantuan*, ſent for the *Venetian* Ambaſſadour reſiding at the Port, and told him in very threatning Terms, that his Maſter muſt forthwith ſet at liberty his beſt friend the Marquis of *Mantua*. No ſooner had the Senate, who always took care to keep fair with the Port, ſeen their Ambaſſadour's Diſpatches, than they immediately ſet the Marquis at liberty; but the *Venetians*, who know how to improve every thing to the beſt Advantage, perſwaded him, that the favour they had ſhow'd him, was chiefly owing to the Pope's good Offices; and in this perſwaſion they ſent him to his Holineſs full fraught with thankful Acknowledgments for the paternal Care he had expreſs'd for his Liberty. The Pope finding the Marquis prepoſſeſs'd with the Senſe of ſo great an Obligation, found it no difficult matter to oblige him to renounce his former Alliances, and to enter into new ones, and to accept the chief Command of his Troops, and of thoſe of the Republick of *Venice*. The Marquis of *Mantua*'s declaring againſt the League of *Cambray* was of Importance, but the *Pope* thought it to be of the laſt Conſequence, becauſe his Paſſion led him to think ſo.

It is likewiſe pretended, that tho' the beſt courſe the Count *de Carpi* could take to ſucceed in his Negotiation at the Court of *Rome*, was to intimidate the Pope, yet by his Proceedings he contributed rather to encourage him. *Lewis* the 12*th* had entruſted this Man with the care and management of his Affairs at *Rome*, againſt the Opinion of moſt of his Counſellours, who in vain endeavour'd to perſwade him, that it was not at all proper to imploy an *Italian* in ſo nice a Negotiation, as that he went upon was: Eve-

ry body knew, that the Count of *Carpi* liv'd in perpetual apprehenſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and that it was his Intereſt, by all means poſſible, to humble that Prince. This Jealouſy of the Count's, proceeded from the Duke of *Ferrara*'s being joint Lord of *Carpi*, ſince a Partition of Sovereignty between two unequal Princes can never ſubſiſt long, the Count *de Carpi* foreſaw then what afterwards happened, that he ſhould be drove out of his ſhare of that Sovereignty by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who had more Domeſtick Servants about him, than the Count could maintain Soldiers.

It muſt be granted, that *Italians* have ſometimes done very great Services to *France*, in the affairs of that Crown beyond the *Alps*; but as true it is, that the Kings of *France* have too often had cauſe to repent for entruſting them with their Negotiations, and letting them into the Secrets of their Affairs; though it was not under the *Popes* of the *French* Nation, that half the People of *Europe* withdrew their Obedience from the See of *Rome*, yet the *Italians* for moſt part harbour and improve a diſdainful contempt of the Judgment and Capacity of the *French* Nation. There is no Nation on Earth, that thinks it excels others in the Field, ſo much as the *Italians* fancy they excel the *French* in the Cabinet: This Opinion runs ſo much in many of the *Italian* Heads, that they think their Nation is born to govern the other, which cannot, as they ſay, without great perverſneſs diſown a Subordination. This Conceit proved a great inducement to thoſe *Italians*, whom *Lewis* the *12th* employed, to prevaricate with him, with a deſign either to advance their own Intereſt, or that becauſe, as they thought, their Services were not ſufficiently rewarded; though very often thoſe were of little

tle Importance, yet they put an infinite value upon them, being prepoſſeſs'd with an over-weening Opinion of their own Abilities, and fully convinced that none of the *French* King's Natural Subjects could have ſerved him to ſo good Purpoſe. This Notion they had of the Superiority of Wit and Judgment they poſſeſs'd above the *French*, did make them believe further, that it was in their power whenever they pleaſed to trick the *French*, without their ever perceiving it, or being able to gueſs at what they had a mind to conceal from them; be this as 'twill, *Guicciardin*, who was an excellent Judge of what the Great Men of his Nation were capable to do, in ſuch Circumſtances as the Count *de Carpi* then was, ſeems almoſt to believe, that that Miniſter betrayed *Lewis* the 12*th*, in order to diſable the Duke of *Ferrara* from doing him any Miſchief. *Giraldi*, the *Ferrara* Hiſtorian poſitively avers that he did it, and it appear'd by the Reſentment of the whole Houſe of *Eſte* againſt this Count, that he actually did do great diſſervice to *Lewis*, at the ſame time that by his Office and Employment, he was bound to advance that Princes Intereſt, as much as if it had been his own.

*Julius* the 2*d* being incouraged by the Count *de Carpi*, and by the Alliances he had lately made, all of a ſudden changed his mind; he talk'd of nothing now but of putting himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and openly declared that he was going at once to make uſe of the Keys of St. *Peter*, and the Sword of St. *Paul*, againſt his Enemies. The Ambaſſadour of the Republick of *Florence*, which at that time was united in Intereſt as well as Friendſhip with *France*, for ſeveral days durſt not appear at the *Pope's* Court, becauſe he had put his Holineſs in a rage, by propoſing a new Negotiation to him. The Duke of *Savoy*'s

Envoy having taken the freedom to offer his Masters Mediation, his Holiness ordered him to be put to the Rack, and kept him a long time in Prison, as an Emissary of his Enemies. At last, *Julius* the 2*d* set out from *Rome* in order to open his Campaign, though it was then towards the end of *September*: He resolved to show no marks of a fearful General, he design'd to lay Siege to *Ferrara*, at the head of his own Troops, and those of the Republick of *Venice*. This Enterprise was so far from promising Success, that it was by every body judged impossible; but the *Venetians*, designing to flatter the Pride and Arrogancy of the *Pope*, which contributed as much to their Preservation, as the Flegm and Wariness of their Senate, made him believe that *Ferrara* might be taken: The most servile and fulsom Flatterers, pass always for Men of good Sense and solid Reason, with those whose predominant Passion they immoderately gratify.

The Garrison of *Ferrara* was very Numerous, and consisted of *French* and other Troops from this side the *Alps*; and the *Venetians* were not absolute Masters of the *Po*, the Duke of *Ferrara* having thought it adviseable to arm by Water, as well as by Land. The Subjects of the Duke of *Ferrara* long'd for a Piratick War, which they had learned by Experience, when they had the boldness to sail almost to the very City of *Venice*, and bring off Prizes out of their Harbours. The Republick had hardly *Men* of *War* enough man'd to be Convoys for their Merchantmen; their Land-Army was much weakened by the Losses they had sustained in their attempt on *Verona*, and the *Pope's* Army, though he paid for eight hundred Men compleatly armed, and six thousand Foot, did not amount to above four thousand effective Soldiers; but *Guicciardin* observes,

ſerves, no body is worſt ſerved, than the *Pope's* uſually are in their Military Expeditions. *Guicciardin*, 'tis like, would have ſpoke more plainly, had not himſelf been a Soldier in the *Pope's* Service. As for the King of *Arragon*'s Troops, though they had begun their march from *Naples*, yet they never came up. *Fabricio Colonna* who commanded them, had received ſecret Orders from his Maſter, not to join the *Pope*'s Army till he had received the *Pope's* Bull of Inveſtiture, and the *Pope* was unwilling to part with that before *Colonna*, with his Troops arrived at the General Rendevouz. *Julius* the 2*d* and *Ferdinand* having known one another a long time, neither of them would truſt the other, and by plainly owning their mutual Diſtruſt, they diſcovered no more than what every body knew before.

This attempt on *Ferrara*, which was a Matter full of difficulty in it ſelf, was intirely diſconcerted by two Accidents that happened much about the ſame time. The *Venetian* Army had begun to throw a Bridge over the *Po*, in order to paſs that River, and to join the *Pope's* Troops near *Bologna*. A *French* Party came and burnt all the Materials for the Bridge, in the view of that Army: Some time was requiſite to repair this loſs, and the Seaſon was ſo far advanced, as to make the Siege of *Ferrara* impracticable. The other accident light upon the Perſon of *Julius* the 2*d*, who fell dangerouſly ill, inſomuch, that for ſome days it was believed that he would die; he as little regarded all the Phyſicians Preſcriptions, while he was on his ſick Bed, as he did the Advice and Counſel of all the Cardinals in the Conſiſtory; whatever his Phyſicians preſcribed, he was ſure to do quite contrary, nor could any body prevail with him to forbear drinking

in Ice, and eating raw Fruit during the heat of his Fever; but such was the strength of his Constitution, that notwithstanding the Diet he kept, and the Regimen he observed, he got the better of his Disease: His illness however so retarded his Designs, that after he was recovered, it was impossible to attempt the Siege of *Ferrara*; the Season was now far advanced, and besides *Chaumont* had thrown a Reinforcement into the Place. After *Julius* the 2*d* had heard of this, the first Orders he gave his Generals were, to give *Chaumont* Battle; but those Officers objecting against this attempt, and representing to him the great odds there was between his Troops and those *Chaumont* commanded, his impetuous humour was restrained, and instead of fighting, he agreed that his Army should retire to cover *Modena*, which at the same time would cover his Army. The *Venetian* Affairs were no more prosperous at this time, than were those of the *Pope*, they had sent a Fleet into the *Adige*, with a design to give a Diversion, by pillaging the *Ferrareze* on the left side of the *Po*. Another Fleet they had in the *Po*, was to attempt joining that which was in the *Adige* at *Adria*; but the Water of a Canal through which they must pass from one River to the other was so low, that the Duke of *Ferrara* having notice of the Condition they were in, came upon them in the nick of time with his formidable Train of Artillery, and destroyed that Fleet, as he had the year before the other, that had advanced up the *Po* as far as *Ferrara*.

In the mean time, *Lewis* the 12*th* foreseeing that his Quarrels with the Court of *Rome*, would end in an open Rupture, assembled the Clergy of his Kingdom at *Tours*: He desired to know the Opinion of that pious and wise Body, whether

ther he could in Conſcience, for aſſerting his juſt Rights, avenge himſelf on *Julius* the 2*d* for his breach of Faith and Treaties; and how far he ought to regard the Spiritual Arms of the Church in the hands of his Aggreſſor, who made no other uſe of them, than to ſupport Injuſtice, in matters purely Temporal. Whether he might not, with a deſign to keep the War out of his own Dominions, take poſſeſſion of a Place, which the *Pope* had wreſted from its lawful Sovereigns, who had been in quiet poſſeſſion of it as duly and properly belonging to them, by a right of Preſcription, for above a hundred years, without intermiſſion. Theſe were the *Bentivogli*, whom *Julius* the 2*d* had drove out of *Bologna*, after a hundred years uninterrupted Succeſſion. This is the Subſtance of the eight Propoſitions, of which the King of *France* deſired the deciſion of the *Gallican* Church; the Opinion they gave was, That the King might, without the leaſt Scruple, maintain his Quarrel with the Court of *Rome*, by all the means and ways that were allowed to Sovereign Princes, and he might even act offenſively againſt his Enemy. That Religion being no way concerned in the Quarrel, the *Pope* ought not to uſe his Spiritual Arms. That if his Holineſs did not recal the Cenſures he had already unwarrantably thundered out, or if afterwards he ſhould dart out any other, that in that caſe, the Party injured ſhould withdraw their Obedience from him, and make application to thoſe to whom it belonged, to call a General Council; and that that Aſſembly ſhould be held at *Lyons*; it was at this time that *Matthew Long*, Biſhop of *Gurck*, and Miniſter and Confident of *Maximilian*, came to *Tours*. The arrival of this Prelate, and the news that had come from *Italy*, occaſioned many Speculations at the Court

of

of *France*. Five Cardinals that were diſſatisfied with the proceedings of *Julius* the 2*d*, deſerted him on his way from *Rome* to *Bologna*, and went to *Milan*, fully diſpoſed to do all they could againſt him.

The juncture of Affairs at that time, ſeemed ſo favourable to the King and the Biſhop of *Gurck*, that they reſolved on calling a General Council, for reforming the Church, both in its Head, and in its Members. It was agreed, That the Emperor and the King of *France* ſhould ſend Prelates to that Aſſembly from their reſpective Provinces, and that they ſhould engage the other Sovereign Powers to do the like.

*Varillas*, in his Hiſtory of *Lewis* the 12*th*, gives an account of the Extract of a Treaty, which he avers was made at that time between *Maximilian* and *Lewis* the 12*th* for holding a General Council. This Treaty aims at no leſs than the depoſing of *Julius* the 2*d*; but as *Varillas*'s Hiſtory is more to be read for Amuſement, than Inſtruction, there is no reaſon to look upon ſuch a Treaty as an authentick Deed, meerly upon his Authority, ſince he has not vouched for it, and ſince he was the firſt that ever mentioned it. There is, 'tis true, a Treaty ſign'd by the Biſhop of *Gurck*, during his ſtay at *Blois*, but that Treaty contains nothing but a mutual Engagement between the King and the Emperor, to adhere to the League of *Cambray*, even though the other Parties contracting ſhould deſiſt. There is reaſon however to believe, by what happened afterwards, that the King and the Biſhop of *Gurck* did agree upon ſeveral other things at that time, beſides what are contained in the Treaty of *Blois* that was publiſh'd. It can hardly be thought, but that together with the Treaty that was publiſhed, there were other Articles ſigned which

which were to be kept ſecret. There is one thing indeed which gives ground to believe, that there was ſome Truth in *Varillas*'s Relation of this Matter; that is, that *Maximilian* had a mighty deſire to be Head of the Church. There is extant, a Letter of *Maximilian*'s, to the Baron of *Liechtenſtein*, in which he tells him as a Secret, that he would aſpire to the Papacy, after the Death of *Julius* the 2*d*. This Letter was written during that fit of Illneſs the Pope had, which we juſt now ſpoke of; and into which he fell a little before the Reſolution was taken at *Blois* for holding a General Council. In that Letter *Maximilian* gives an exact and particular account of the Meaſures he had taken to arrive at the Tripple Crown. It is true, *Julius* the 2*d* was paſs'd all Danger, when that Reſolution was taken; but if the Papal Chair ſhould not happen to be void by the Pope's Death, yet it might be made ſo by his Depoſition. *Mariana* is poſitive, that the drift of *Maximilian*'s uniting ſo cloſely with *Lewis* the 12*th* for aſſembling a General Council, was no other, than to depoſe *Julius* the 2*d*, that he might come in his place; other Hiſtorians ſay further, That *Maximilian* would have himſelf declared Head of the Church, in quality of Emperor, by reuniting in his own Perſon, the Spiritual and Temporal Power which were enjoyed jointly by the *Roman* Emperors, in the time of *Paganiſm*. It is hard to put any other Interpretation upon the Title of High Prieſt, *Pontifex Maximus*, which a very able and great Hiſtorian aſſures us, *Maximilian* ſometimes join'd with his other Titles. *William Ockam*, an *Engliſh Cordelier*, famous for the Books he wrote in the time of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in favour of the Pretenſions of the Emperors, againſt thoſe of the *Pope*, had a great many years before

before *Maximilian*'s time, advanced ſome Propoſitions that very much favoured the Project, *Maximilian* ſeem'd now to have ſo much at Heart: 'Tis true, that the Peace in which thoſe Propoſitions are found under the Title of *The Eight Queſtions*, was much cry'd down at that time at the Court of *Rome*, and in the moſt famous Univerſities; but if we may believe *Sleidan*, in his Book *de Statu Religion. & Reip.* that Book of *Ockam*'s was in great eſteem in *Germany*, whether that Author had fled, and where he died in the year 1320 in great Reputation, as a Perſon who had manfully ſtood up in defence of Truth.

The Fact I have been ſpeaking of, if it is true, may ſerve to unravel *Maximilian*'s odd Conduct; and if it does not juſtify *Julius* the 2*d*'s hatred of *France*, yet it may in ſome meaſure excuſe it. Injuſtice can never be commended, whatever the Motives for committing it may be; but People never blame it with ſo much Indignation, when they know it proceeds from a juſt Reſentment.

In the mean time, the *Pope* did not ſeem much diſturbed at the Meaſures his Enemies were taking againſt him; and notwithſtanding all the deſigns they were laying to humble him, he abated nothing of his uſual Arrogance; either the violence of his Temper ſhut his incenſed mind againſt all Fear and Reflexion, or he was perſwaded that the Court of *Rome*, which had ſo many ways to diſpel Storms which it ſaw coming, had no reaſon to fear any thing but unforeſeen Thunder-Claps. The Letters which he wrote to the five Cardinals that had left him, were in a ſtrain becoming a provoked Maſter, who was ſure of revenging himſelf on his undutiful Servants. He changed the Monitory he had

had publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Ferrara* into an Excommunication, and in his Cenſures comprehended the Auxiliary *French* Troops, and particularly *Chaumont* that commanded them, if he did not forthwith march them back into the *Milaneze*. *Chaumont*, though he was a Cardinals Nephew, found no manner of inclination in himſelf, to be frighted with an Excommunication which was ſo ill beſtowed; on the contrary, he marched his Troops directly to *Modena*, and in his way ſtript a Party of the *Pope's* Troops, that had the folly not to retire upon the approach of the *French* Forces, ſo quickly as they might have done. The *Pope's* Army having thrown it ſelf into the Place, *Chaumont* found the Siege of *Modena* impoſſible, all his Infantry not exceeding ſix or ſeven thouſand Men. The *Bentivogli*, who had come with all their Friends to join the *French*, propoſed an Enterprize to *Chaumont*, which if it had ſucceeded, would have been the moſt glorious Action that ever immortaliz'd a General: It was to go and inſult *Bologna*, where *Julius* the 2*d* who had kindled this War, was ſhut up with a numerous Court, but a very weak Garriſon.

It is a failure in Prudence to form a Deſign againſt any State, upon the unfair Reports of thoſe who have been baniſhed from thence; the great deſire thoſe have to return to their Native Country, makes them fancy they ſee things there which really are not, they are apt to flatter themſelves with the number of thoſe who perſevere in their friendſhip to them, and zealouſly adhere to their Intereſt: Sometimes the Exiled Perſons, without being gull'd themſelves, cheat thoſe they would engage to make ſome bold attempt for them, hoping that Fortune may perhaps favour, and the Enterprize, how little ſoever feaſible,

may

may ſucceed. If the Attempt fails, they are in no worſe Condition than they were before; *Chaumont* knew very well the Character of thoſe unfortunate Perſons, but he knew likewiſe, that with his Army, little as 'twas, he was able, without the help of Intelligence, to carry a great ſcambling Town deſtitute of Soldiers to defend it; he march'd therefore upon this Expedition, and encamped at *Creſpolano*. Upon his approaching *Bologna*, that City was ſtruck with the greateſt Conſternation, he being then but ten Miles diſtant from it. The nearer he drew to their Gates, the greater their fears grew, that there would ariſe a more dangerous Enemy within the City; and of all Courts, that of a *Pope* is the ſooneſt and moſt alarm'd with Dangers. It would have been the greateſt comfort in the World to thoſe of *Julius*'s Court, if they could have got home again; but the Light-Horſe of the *French* Army, had already made Incurſions into the Country beyond *Bologna*, inſomuch, that it was much ſafer for thoſe Courtiers to ſtay in the Town, than to attempt to make their eſcape. The *Pope's* Officers, notwithſtanding their long practice of habitual Diſſimulation, could no longer forbear betraying their fear by their looks, moſt part of them were ſtun'd and ſtruck dumb, and ſuch of them as had any courage and preſence of Mind, were buſy about making their Wills. So ſoon as *Colonna* had obſerved that the *French* were marching towards *Bologna*, he drew all the Forces that were under his Command that way; but thoſe were the *Pope's* Troops, and ſuch as could give but ſmall encouragement in ſo great Danger.

At laſt, ſome of the Cardinals took the freedom to repreſent to his Holineſs, that his Courtiers fear'd nothing leſs than the *French*, whate-

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ver might be the Danger, and that there was no way now left to get out of that Place, but by a ſpeedy Accommodation. At firſt this Advice had no effect on the *Pope*, who being more enraged than ever, ſpent one part of his time in ſcolding at the King of *Arragon*'s Ambaſſadour, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Troops his Maſter had promiſed were not come up, though he had depoſited the Inveſtiture of *Naples*, in the hands of the Cardinal of *Rhegio*, to be delivered ſo ſoon as thoſe Troop ſhould join the *Pope's* Army. The reſt of his time was intirely imployed upon reproaching the *Venetian* Ambaſſadour, becauſe the Succours that Republick had ſo often promiſed to ſend him, had failed him in his greateſt Extremity, though he had run himſelf into the utmoſt Danger, ſolely for the Love and Reſpect he bore the *Venetians*.

Notwithſtanding all this Rage and Paſſion, partly by the Cardinals repreſenting to him every thing their fear could ſuggeſt, and partly by being frighted by the Enemies Parties advancing ſo far, as to kill the Sentinels in the very Gates of *Bologna*, he at laſt yielded, and ſeem'd inclinable to treat with *Chaumont*; but that General, on the other hand, ſat ſtill in his Camp, and loſt a whole Day; in which time he might have taken *Bologna*, had he but appeared before it, there being nothing there that could have made him the leaſt Oppoſition: He ſuffered himſelf to be terrified by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours threatning him with a Rupture that muſt needs enſue between their Maſters, if he advanced one ſtep nearer *Bologna*. This was not the only piece of ill Conduct *Chaumont* was guilty of on this Occaſion, for he granted the *Pope* as a Preliminary Article, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of Arms for two Days. *Julius* the 2*d* made a conſiderable

ſiderable advantage of this; for in that time he ſent away his moſt valuable Effects in *Tuſcany*, and ſent Courier after Courier to haſten the arrival of the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* Forces.

He deſired that the *French* would ſend the Count *de Carpi* to treat with him, knowing him to be a Man he could eaſily deceive or ſeduce; but he not being then in the Army, *J. Francis Pico* was entruſted with *Chaumont*'s Propoſals to the *Pope*. Thoſe Propoſals were, That the *Pope* and the *French* King ſhould each of them ſend an Umpire, to whoſe Arbitration the *Pope*'s Pretenſions againſt the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould be referr'd, and that the League ſign'd at *Cambray* againſt the *Venetians*, ſhould continue in full force in all its Points. In the mean time, the *Pope*, without granting or refuſing any thing, had the effect he deſired of the Ceſſation of Arms, for the Evening before it expired, the Van of the *Venetian* Army enter'd *Bologna*: The Night following the *Spaniſh* Forces arrived, and the Inhabitants of *Bologna*, who before were diſpoſed to follow Fortune, took Arms in favour of the *Pope*. When *Chaumont*, after the expiration of the Truce, had advanced and encamped within three Miles of *Bologna*, with a deſign to haſten the concluſion of the Treaty, he found that there was no hopes of any Accommodation with the *Pope*, or poſſibility of inſulting the Place; all he had now to do was, to colour his Retreat with the plauſible Pretext of the Reſpect and Deference he had for the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour, and of the Kings of *England* and *Arragon*, who really had made very preſſing Inſtances for his withdrawing the *French* Army. Thus *Chaumont*'s Deſign was fruſtrated, by his amuſing himſelf with Arguing, when he ſhould have been Fighting; eſpecially when he had to do with Enemies that as

far

far exceeded him at Intreagues and Cunning, as he did them in warlike Exploits.

The *Venetians* were in as much Joy upon the iſſue of this Attempt upon *Bologna*, as *Chaumont* was in Confuſion upon his Diſappointment; they had effectually hindered the Event, and broke off a Negotiation, either of which, had it ſucceeded, muſt have been much to their Diſadvantage, conſidering the melancholy State of their Affairs: Every unlucky event that happen'd againſt them, was enough to determine their Ruin; but when any thing fell out favourably for the Republick, their danger was only diverted, but not ſurmounted by it, had they been but once overcome, they muſt inevitably have periſhed, but they would have had no reaſon to Triumph, before they had overcome their Enemies in ſeveral Encounters: On the other hand, the Marquis of *Mantua* did not make good all he had promiſed them, he had hardly put himſelf at the Head of their Army, when he left it, and went home, under pretence of curbing the Incurſions the *French* were making into the *Mantuan*. Soon after his arrival in his Capital City, he was taken ill of a Diſeaſe which came very ſeaſonably to excuſe his not returning to his Command. The *Venetians* did not preſs him very much, taking it for granted that he would ſtand Neuter, and at laſt, ſide with thoſe that fortune favoured; if they did not get one friend more than they had, by having him, at leaſt they had one Enemy leſs than they had before.

As it was danger that made the *Pope* ſtoop to an Accommodation, that being once over, he ſhow'd a greater averſion to it than ever. The Emperour's, and the King of *England*'s Ambaſſadours, while they were endeavouring to prevail with him to proſecute the Negotiation that was

begun at *Bologna*, had no other anſwer from him, than bitter Invectives againſt *Lewis* the 12*th*, and he now talk'd of nothing but Battles and Sieges. The Siege of *Ferrara*, that run moſt of all in his Head, was judged impoſſible by all the Officers of his Army. *Julius* the 2*d* was quite of another mind, but ſoon found himſelf obliged to yield to their Reaſons, and to confine all his Warlike Exploits, to the taking of *Concorda* and *Mirandola*, the Sovereign of which places was in the intereſt of *Lewis* the 12*th*: *Concorda* yielded upon the firſt Summons, there having been no Precautions uſed in the caſe of a Siege. The *Pope*, that he might the better ſurprize the Prince it belonged to, had by a ſpecial Brief taken him under his Protection ſome days before: *Julius* ſeem'd to have a regard to the Emperour in this Matter, *Concorda* and *Mirandola* being reputed two Imperial Fiefs. It was from the Emperours, that the Family of the *Pico*'s, to whom they belonged, had received their Inveſtiture: The Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, had given *Mirandola* to the *Pico*'s, and *Sigiſmund* afterwards erected it into a County in their favour. Afterwards *Frederick* the 3*d*, *Maximilian*'s Father, granted them *Concorda*, to be held by them as Feudataries of the Empire.

From *Concorda*, the *Pope* marched his Army to *Mirandola*, into which the *French* had haſtily thrown ſome Infantry; the *Pope* however formed the Siege, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the Weather, which was like to prove a greater defence for the place, than the Garriſon that was in it. It was now about the end of *December*, and the rigour of the Seaſon, which is uſually as great in that Month in *Lombardy*, as in *Germany*, was that year more ſevere than ordinary: It was no wonder that a Siege formed with all thoſe Diſadvantages,

vantages, went on ſo ſlowly. The *Pope* knew who he had to blame, without accuſing his Generals; but the fault was all laid at their Door, and the firſt of his Officers he accuſed, was his own Nephew the Duke of *Urbino*, whom he charged with Treachery and Cowardice, an Accuſation which *Guicciardin*, who never fails to gratify his hatred aginſt this Prince, relates with an avowed pleaſure.

*Julius* the 2*d* having reſolved to command his Army in Perſon, and nothing moved with the ſurprizing Spectacle he was going to give all *Europe*, came into his Camp. He took up his Quarters in a Houſe that was under the Cannon of the Place, and without the leaſt regard to his Age or Dignity, or without ever conſidering what ground this would give to the enſuing General Council to proſecute him, he not only exerciſed all the Offices of a General in his Army, but even thoſe of a Soldier. He was conſtantly on the Batteries, Night and Day, and on the advanced Works, entirely taken up in killing the Catholick Soldiers that defended *Mirandola*, though by his Papal Dignity, he was their Spiritual Father, and was as much accountable to his Lord and Maſter for their Souls, as he was for his own. Notwithſtanding this cruel and bloody Diſpoſition of his, he was forced by the rigour of the Seaſon, to retire for ſome days to *Concorda*; it was there that he had notice that the Conſpiracy of *Florence*, in which all the World ſuſpected he had a hand, was diſcovered. This Conſpiracy was formed in order to impriſon *Soderini*, a Perſon in great Credit and Eſteem in that Republick, and who paſs'd for the Author and Promoter of its amity with *France*.

*Julius* the 2*d* could not be long abſent from his Siege, and therefore returned to it notwithſtanding

ſtanding the Snow that fell very thick at that time. He took up his Quarters in a little Church near the Walls of *Mirandola*, as the moſt convenient place for him to be in, to overſee and haſten the Works; but ſeveral of his Servants having been killed by the Cannon of the
1511. Town, he found it adviſeable to remove from thence to a place further off; notwithſtanding his utmoſt Efforts, and his repeated promiſes to the Soldiers, to give them the Plunder of the Town, the Siege went but heavily on. *Alexander Trivulze*, Nephew to the Mareſchal of that Name, though his Garriſon conſiſted of no more than four hundred Men, defended the place with incredible Reſolution and Bravery, in hopes of ſoon ſeeing *Chaumont* come to his Relief, but he was diſappointed; for it being in the Month of *December*, when that General retired from before *Bologna*, he believed the Campaign was at an end, and with a deſign to make his Court with *Lewis* the 12*th*, who was always more ſparing of his Subjects Blood, than of his own, he disbanded his Infantry, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe days, which however he might have diſpenſed with. *Chaumont* himſelf had gone to *Milan*, being impatient, as 'twas ſaid, to give an account of his Compaign and the Projects he had laid, to a Woman there, with whom he had the folly to be paſſionately in Love. So ſoon as he had intelligence of the Siege of *Mirandola*, he returned to *Rubiera*, in order to reaſſemble his Army; but the diligence he uſed to bring it into the Field was either not ſo great, or not ſo ſucceſsful, as that the *Pope* ſhow'd in preſſing on the Siege. At laſt there was a breach made in the Place, and the Ice on the Ditch was ſo ſtrong, that there was no occaſion for filling it, in order to make the

the Aſſault: The Garriſon therefore capitulated to march out, but upon Condition, that the Officers ſhould be Priſoners of War. It was not without great difficulty, that *Julius* was prevailed with to grant ſuch eaſy Terms; for he would have thoſe brave defenders of *Mirandola* at his Diſcretion. They march'd out on the 20*th* of *January*, and the ſame day the *Pope* entered the Breach in a triumphant manner, deſplaying all the Oſtentations and Pomp that a young General of but twenty years old could have done on ſuch an Occaſion; but this Triumph was not long liv'd, for it was not long before this Conquerour was forced to flee to *Ravenna*, and his Victorious Army obliged to take ſhelter behind the Marſhes of *Buendeno* and *Cento*.

*Chaumont* had now got together an Army, and his Maſter *Lewis* the 12*th* having ſent him Orders not to ſpare the Army of the Church any longer, he took the Field in order to act Offenſively againſt it, and to fall upon them whereever he could find them; but he found it impoſſible to attack them in the Month of *January*, in the advantageous Poſt they then were; and therefore in order to draw them from thence, he march'd directly to *Modena*: *Julius* deſpairing to hinder the *French* from taking the Place by force, did all he could by Cunning, to prevent their being Maſters of it. The King of *Arragon*, thinking it adviſable to play with both Hands, had actually Troops in both Armies; his deſign was to foment Jealouſies, and keep up Quarrels between his Neighbouring Princes, becauſe the more they were at Variance, the quieter he was, and that he was always moſt conſiderable and regarded, when they were at War with one another.

In proſecution of the Deſign he had laid, his Ambaſſadour at the *Pope*'s Court adviſed his Holineſs to depoſite *Modena* in the hands of *Vitfruſt*, an Officer of *Maximilian*'s, as an Imperial Fief, the Sequeſtration of which belong'd to the Emperour. This advice was very judiciouſly given, for *Chaumont* after it was put in practice, could not attack *Modena*, without making a breach between his Maſter and *Maximilian*, who was always exceſſively jealous of every thing that look'd like a Right of the Empire. If this Conſideration ſhould prevent *Chaumont*'s falling upon *Modena*, the *Pope* might reaſonably hope to return ſoon to that place, by giving *Maximilian* a Sum of Money; the event ſufficiently juſtified the courſe that the *Pope* took on this Occaſion. So ſoon as the *French* ſaw the Emperours Standards planted on the Walls of *Modena*, they forbore Hoſtilities againſt the Place, depending on the Imperial Commiſſary's Word, that he held the Place for *Maximilian*.

Some few days after this Agreement, *Chaumont* fell ſick at *Corregio*; his vexation for having failed in his late Deſign upon *Bologna*, had improved it ſelf into a real Deſpair, ſo ſoon as he heard what Reflexions were made on his Conduct in that matter at the Court of *France*. Tho' this Overſight of his had loſt neither Army nor Province to his Maſter, yet the ſetled Grief that prey'd upon his Spirits, became ſo violent, that neither the hopes of ſoon doing ſome great Action to obliterate that Fault, nor the thoughts of his Age (he being then but thirty eight) that gave him time enough to retrieve his Honour and Reputation, were able to prevent his ſinking under this load of Sorrow: By his Death he left vacant, beſides his Lieutenancies of ſeveral large Countries, the Dignity of Mareſchal of *France*, and

that

that of Lieutenant General beyond the *Alps*. In the happy State *France* then was, he could not be thought unworthy of the great Offices he bore, having been advanced to them by the favour of his Uncle the Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*; one or two faults are not enough to render a Man unworthy of Command, and no Man can be faultleſs, but he that has never Commanded. The Hiſtorians of that time accuſe *Chaumont* of having been too much a ſlave to Money; but if Profuſeneſs can excuſe the Extortions of Commanders, *Chaumont* had that to plead for his Juſtification. He was one of thoſe *French* Squanderers that *Machiavel* ſets in oppoſition to thoſe *Spaniards*, who are ſo great Miſers of the Money they get by their Plunder, that the poor People they ſqueeze it out of, never ſee a penny of it again: However *Chaumont* may be charged with exacting upon the *Milanois*, no body can ſay that he hid it in the Ground, he ſpent with them at Night, what he took from them in the Morning, and often more; and according to the peculiar Character of his own Nation, ſpent a part of his own Eſtate: It has long been the Opinion of the *Italians*, that a *Frenchman* has an admirable Talent at waſting other People's Goods; according to an ancient Proverb, it might be thought that *Chaumont* built his ſtately Houſe of *Meillan* in the *Bourbonois*, upon the charges of the *Milanois*; for the Proverb ſays, *Milan fait Meillan*; *& Meillan de fait Milan*, that is, *Milan* built *Meillan*, and *Meillan* ruined *Milan*.

There are Authors that relate for a Truth, that *Chaumont* in his laſt Extremity, ſent to beg the *Pope's* Abſolution from the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures he had inflicted upon him; but when any Catholick of Note dies, who by ſerving his Maſter, and promoting the Intereſt of his King-

dom, has incurr'd the diſpleaſure of the Court of *Rome*, a report is always ſpread, that at the point of Death, he heartily repented the incurring their Cenſures, which are the too frequent Conſequences of Diſgrace at that Court.

After *Chaumont*'s Death, the Command he had enjoyed devolved upon the Mareſchal *Trivulze*. Till that time, *Trivulze*, though he was an older Mareſchal of *France*, ſerved under *Chaumont*, who was the King's Lieutenant-General beyond the *Alps*: No ſooner had *Trivulze* entered upon his New Command, than he march'd his Army to the relief of *la Baſtia*, in the *Ferrareze*, which was beſieged by the *Pope*'s Troops. This Enterprize of the *Pope*'s Army, was to be favoured by the *Venetian* Fleet, which was to ſail up the *Po* to ſecond them. So ſoon as the *French* Army drew near, this Fleet ſtood off, and the Forces of the Church choſe rather to leave all their Artillery and Ammunition, with the beſt Grace they could, than to ſtay and fight for preſerving them; *Trivulze* marched from *la Baſtia*, and encamp'd at *Stellata*. There he received Intelligence, that *Leonard de Prato*, Knight of *Rhodes*, the moſt celebrated Officer in the *Venetian* Army, lay in ambuſh with a hundred and fifty Troopers near *Mirandola*. He immediately detatch'd a Party under the Command of *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and the King's Siſter's Son, to fall upon them: His being the King's Nephew, and eſpecially *Lewis* the 12*th*'s, procured him extream Reſpect and Reverence in the Army; ſo ſoon as *Gaſton* diſcovered who he was, his Quality was his leaſt Recommendation; to know how to Command, and how to Obey, are very different, and often oppoſite Talents; but both were united in the Perſon of *Gaſton*. The Soldiers no ſooner obſerved him at their Head, than they diſcover-

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ed a degree of Courage beyond what they uſed to ſhow under other Commanders; and *Gaſton*'s General was quickly ſenſible that no other Officer could give ſo good an account of the Orders he received, nor execute them more ſucceſsfully. *Gaſton* knew how to take his Meaſures in the heat of the Action, as well as if he had quietly deliberated on them in his Tent.

*Prato*'s Party was intirely defeated, and himſelf was killed in the Action, to the great grief of the *Venetians*, who had put a ſingular Confidence in him, at a time when they were at a loſs whom to truſt. They therefore erected a moſt magnificent Monument for him at *Venice*, as if they meant by the honour they did his Memory, to excite the Fidelity and Valour of the other Officers of the Army for the Service of St. *Mark*.

The deſign *Trivulze* laid ſome days after for beating up the Quarters of the main Body of the *Pope*'s Troops at *Buendeno*, had not the like Succeſs. The Poſt thoſe Troops were in was the *Peninſula*, or piece of Land that lies between the *Barana* and the *Po*, at their Conflux at *Buendeno*. *Trivulzes*'s Project was to paſs the *Burana*, and to fall on them on that ſide, whilſt the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould from the bank of the *Po*, play his Artillery upon the Enemies Rear, their Front being to the *Burana*. This Project, one would have thought, which placed the Enemy between thoſe two Fires, might have facilitated *Trivulze*'s paſſage over the *Burana*; but the *Pope*'s Troops having cut the Dikes, put the Country ſo much under Water, that the *French* could not come near the Channel of *Burana*, ſo that all this Expedition came to no more, than the defeating of five hundred Men that were poſted on that ſide the River, who could not get over to join the Body of their Army.

Both

Both the *Pope* and the *Venetians* being baffled in the attempt of *la Baſtia*, they reſolved to attack it a ſecond time: The Duke of *Ferrara*'s Fleet gave Battle to that of *Venice*, which was going up the *Po* to favour the Siege. The *Venetian* Fleet was beat, and after the loſs of five and forty Veſſels, were forced to put into a Harbour near *Ravenna*, where the *Pope* had the mortification to ſee them enter; theſe Expeditions were followed by a ſort of Truce. *Trivulze* had received Orders from *Lewis* the 12*th*, to forbear all acts of Hoſtility upon the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, till ſuch time as it was known what the iſſue of the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Negotiation, who had parted from *Lintz* to go into *Italy*, would be.

So ſoon as that Biſhop returned after his Journey to *Blois*, the Emperor ſhow'd a great Inclination to execute the Treaty which that Prelate had concluded with the King of *France*. His Imperial Majeſty call'd an Aſſembly of the Biſhops of his Hereditary Countries, in order to diſpoſe them to meet at the enſuing General Council; but his uſual Inconſtancy, and the natural Averſion he bore to *France*, which however it might be for ſome time ſmothered, yet was never quite extinguiſh'd, made him give ear to the King of *Arragon*'s Suggeſtions. The Catholick King, fearing he ſhould be left to the Diſcretion of *Lewis* the 12*th*, and the Emperor *Maximilian*, look'd upon the good underſtanding that then ſeem'd to be between thoſe two Princes, as a Comet that preſaged the ruin of his Affairs, and the downfal of his Greatneſs. It would have been time loſt, as he thought, to endeavour to make *Lewis* fall out with the Emperor, and therefore *Ferdinand* turned all his politick Batteries towards *Maximilian*, and, as we ſhall ſee, he

he at laſt ſucceeded ſo well, as to make that Prince an Enemy to *Lewis* the 12*th*. In order therefore to induce *Maximilian* to enter upon ſuch Meaſures as might begin a breach with *Lewis*, and undo that good Underſtanding that then ſeem'd to be between them, he cauſed to repreſent to the Emperour, that he was going to engage himſelf in ſuch Affairs, as the Succeſs of them muſt be no leſs uncertain, than the Conſequences doubtful. That the General Council he deſign'd, would not ſucceed, and that if it did, it might perhaps ſtretch its Authority further than it was convenient for an Emperour it ſhould. That the Emperours were in poſſeſſion of *The firſt humble Requeſts*, as they call them, in the Churches of *Germany*, and of ſuch Prerogatives in the election of Biſhops, as put vacant Sees in their Diſpoſal, and of many other Rights very important to the Imperial Crown, but ſuch as were burthenſom to the *German* Clergy. That this Council being owned and ſubmitted to by all the faithful, would probably aboliſh thoſe Rights, the actual exerciſe of which gave the beſt and moſt ſolid Title. That his Imperial Majeſty's moſt eſſential Intereſt, was to oblige the *Venetians* to give him due Satisfaction. That the King of *Arragon* would himſelf undertake to procure that, without any danger or difficulty to *Maximilian*. That the Emperour would ſend a Miniſter to *Mantua*, and that he would oblige the King of *France*, who would hardly venture to refuſe him any thing, to ſend one likewiſe. That he would undertake, that *Julius* the 2*d* upon his deſire, would do the ſame, and that the *Pope*, being terrified by the Preliminaries that had been agreed on for a General Council, would leave no Stone unturned to oblige the *Venetians* to give the Emperour ſuch Satisfaction, as might

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put an end to all Differences; that beſides, a word from his Holineſs would be ſufficient to oblige the *Venetians*, who had no other Support than his Protection, to give his Imperial Majeſty all the Satisfaction he could expect or wiſh for. That by this means, the Emperor might enter upon poſſeſſion of ſuch Dominions, as were allotted him by the League of *Cambray*, without the ſuſpicious aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, or without making that dangerous attempt of calling a General Council. *Maximilian* being tickled with theſe Repreſentations, and ſeduced by the hopes of making a greater Figure in *Italy* than *Lewis* the 12*th*, immediately reſolved to ſend the Biſhop of *Gurck* thither, in quality of his Plenipotentiary. He wrote at the ſame time to the *Pope*, to ſupercede all Proceedings againſt the Malecontent Cardinals, and to forbear vexing the Duke of *Ferrara*, to leave all Matters in the condition they then were, and to ſend a Miniſter immediately to *Mantua* to confer with his Plenipotentiary, and with thoſe of the other Confederate Princes, about the beſt means to ſettle the Common Intereſt, and the Peace and Quiet of all Chriſtendom. *Julius* the 2*d* joyfully agreed to this Conference, not ſo much perhaps out of regard to the Peace and Quiet of *Italy*, as that he hoped by this means to engage *Maximilian* to his Intereſt, and to oblige him to break with *France*, by rendring *Lewis* the 12*th*'s aſſiſtance uſeleſs to him, and by obliging the *Venetians* to give his Imperial Majeſty all the Satisfaction he demanded, which was the end and deſign of his Alliance with the moſt Chriſtian King.

*Maximilian* at the ſame time communicated his Deſign and Reſolution to the King of *France*, he cauſed it to be repreſented to him, that in order to render the *Pope* intirely inexcuſable, the laſt attempt

attempt muſt be made upon him, after which they were to obſerve no more meaſures with him, but to deal plainly and above-board with him, and to ſummon him to appear in Perſon before the enſuing General Council. At the ſame time he aſſured the King, that he would make no Treaty with *Julius*, unleſs he would give all due Satisfaction to *France*, and intreated that Prince to ſend a Miniſter forthwith to the Congreſs that was to be ſpeedily held at *Mantua*. The King of *Arragon* wrote to the King of *France* at the ſame time, to lay before him the Expediency and Advantage of this Congreſs, he inſinuated to him, that nothing could be more worthy a moſt Chriſtian King, than to ſuperſede ſome of his Rights, in order to a Peace with the *Pope*; and that for his own part, his quality of Catholick King, would oblige him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to wipe the Tears from his Holineſſes Eyes, if his Fatherly affection continued longer.

The two Diſpatches I have been ſpeaking of, afforded *Lewis* the 12*th* abundant Matter of many puzzling and perplexing Reflexions, he had for a long time ſuſpected, that the King of *Arragon* would ſome time or other make War againſt him; but the two Diſpatches he had received gave him ground to think that an open Rupture was not far off: It was not the firſt time that *Ferdinand* had made War without telling his mind ſo plainly as he did now; but what touched the King of *France* moſt, was, that the King of *Arragon*, at the ſame time that he was ſpeaking to him ſo haughtily in a devout Stile, ſeem'd to be in an intimate Friendſhip with the Emperour, which no body that knew how matters ſtood between thoſe two Princes could have expected.

I cannot but obſerve in this place, that *Ferdinand* was maſter of a Talent, rarely to be found among

put an end to all Differences; that beſides, a word from his Holineſs would be ſufficient to oblige the *Venetians*, who had no other Support than his Protection, to give his Imperial Majeſty all the Satisfaction he could expect or wiſh for. That by this means, the Emperor might enter upon poſſeſſion of ſuch Dominions, as were allotted him by the League of *Cambray*, without the ſuſpicious aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, or without making that dangerous attempt of calling a General Council. *Maximilian* being tickled with theſe Repreſentations, and ſeduced by the hopes of making a greater Figure in *Italy* than *Lewis* the 12*th*, immediately reſolved to ſend the Biſhop of *Gurck* thither, in quality of his Plenipotentiary. He wrote at the ſame time to the *Pope*, to ſupercede all Proceedings againſt the Malecontent Cardinals, and to forbear vexing the Duke of *Ferrara*, to leave all Matters in the condition they then were, and to ſend a Miniſter immediately to *Mantua* to confer with his Plenipotentiary, and with thoſe of the other Confederate Princes, about the beſt means to ſettle the Common Intereſt, and the Peace and Quiet of all Chriſtendom. *Julius* the 2*d* joyfully agreed to this Conference, not ſo much perhaps out of regard to the Peace and Quiet of *Italy*, as that he hoped by this means to engage *Maximilian* to his Intereſt, and to oblige him to break with *France*, by rendring *Lewis* the 12*th*'s aſſiſtance uſeleſs to him, and by obliging the *Venetians* to give his Imperial Majeſty all the Satisfaction he demanded, which was the end and deſign of his Alliance with the moſt Chriſtian King.

*Maximilian* at the ſame time communicated his Deſign and Reſolution to the King of *France*, he cauſed it to be repreſented to him, that in order to render the *Pope* intirely inexcuſable, the laſt attempt

attempt muſt be made upon him, after which they were to obſerve no more meaſures with him, but to deal plainly and above-board with him, and to ſummon him to appear in Perſon before the enſuing General Council. At the ſame time he aſſured the King, that he would make no Treaty with *Julius*, unleſs he would give all due Satisfaction to *France*, and intreated that Prince to ſend a Miniſter forthwith to the Congreſs that was to be ſpeedily held at *Mantua*. The King of *Arragon* wrote to the King of *France* at the ſame time, to lay before him the Expediency and Advantage of this Congreſs, he inſinuated to him, that nothing could be more worthy a moſt Chriſtian King, than to ſuperſede ſome of his Rights, in order to a Peace with the *Pope*; and that for his own part, his quality of Catholick King, would oblige him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to wipe the Tears from his Holineſſes Eyes, if his Fatherly affection continued longer.

The two Diſpatches I have been ſpeaking of, afforded *Lewis* the 12*th* abundant Matter of many puzzling and perplexing Reflexions, he had for a long time ſuſpected, that the King of *Arragon* would ſome time or other make War againſt him; but the two Diſpatches he had received gave him ground to think that an open Rupture was not far off: It was not the firſt time that *Ferdinand* had made War without telling his mind ſo plainly as he did now; but what touched the King of *France* moſt, was, that the King of *Arragon*, at the ſame time that he was ſpeaking to him ſo haughtily in a devout Stile, ſeem'd to be in an intimate Friendſhip with the Emperour, which no body that knew how matters ſtood between thoſe two Princes could have expected.

I cannot but obſerve in this place, that *Ferdinand* was maſter of a Talent, rarely to be found among

among Secular Princes, which was to cloak all his Actions under the ſpecious pretence of an ardent zeal for Religion, which mightily influenced his Subjects, reconciled to him ſuch as were indifferent, and made thoſe who were the victims of his Injuſtice, bear their hardſhips with patience. His Conduct however ſhow'd, that the intereſt of Religion was not ſo dear to him, as it really was to other Princes, who did not affect ſuch a ſhow of zeal for Religion in matters purely political. When *Ferdinands* Intereſt claſh'd with his Zeal, he let the latter drop; he was perhaps the only Chriſtian Prince that ever ſuffered the publick Exerciſe of the *Mahometan* Religion in his Dominions; he not only tolerated private Moſques to prevent the deſpair of the Galley Slaves, but even in the middle of his greateſt Towns, they were publickly ſet up.

The ſurprize *Lewis* was in at firſt, upon the good Underſtanding he perceived there was between *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, ſoon changed into a vehement ſuſpicion of the Emperour's Sincerity, and the more eaſily, that that Prince had lately given *Lewis* juſt ground of Diſtruſt. The *Swiſs* were Enemies of the moſt Chriſtian King, and they had already committed all manner of Hoſtilities againſt him, without any declaration of War. *Maximilian*, who till then had look'd upon them as a parcel of Country Fellows who had revolted from him, and as the Murderers of his Father in-Law, laid hold on this Juncture to treat with them, he renewed the Agreement that had been formerly made between *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtria*, and the Cantons which had been broke long before this time, but never renewed: This Renewal was made on the 11*th* day of *February*, 1511. The Treaty that *Maximilian* made with the twelve Cantons, is in force to this day

day, under the old Name of the Hereditary Alliance, and is the very ſame which the Houſe of *Auſtria* has ſo often challeng'd ſince that time. This Treaty being made between an Ally of *France* and its Enemies, and containing Clauſes of free paſſage, gave *Lewis* the 12*th* vehement grounds of Suſpicion; whatever reaſon he had to doubt who were his Friends, and who were his Enemies, yet he was unwilling to give *Maximilian* any pretence for a Rupture with him. Though the moſt Chriſtian King ſaw no reaſon to expect any favourable iſſue of that Congreſs, yet he ſent *Stephen Poncher*, Biſhop of *Paris*, as his Plenipotentiary to *Mantua*; he was a Man worthy of the Office he bore, and one the King put great confidence in. This Prince at the ſame time gave orders to his Troops to commit no more Hoſtilities upon any of the *Pope*'s Dominions, and he himſelf went as far as *Lyons* to be near at hand in caſe any thing ſhould be done at the Congreſs, with relation to his Dominions in *Italy*.

The Biſhop of *Gurck* ſent out with all expedition for *Mantua*, attended by *Urrea*, the King of *Portugal*'s Ambaſſadour at the Emperour's Court, and ſoon after the Biſhop of *Paris* join'd them at that place. The *Pope* obſerving the ſteps that were made towards this Congreſs, and finding that the Plenipotentiaries were arrived, he reſolved to make his advantage of their condeſcention and eaſineſs, he gave out, that the Biſhop of *Gurck* had come thither to meet him, out of the Reſpect and Deference he owed to the Papal Dignity, and becauſe Sons ought not to treat upon one equal foot with their Father. *Julius* the 2*d* had a more ſerious motive to improve this Advantage, that he might the more eaſily gain upon the *German* Prelate, he endeavoured to ſeparate him from the Biſhop of *Paris*. They muſt needs

needs have been ſeparated, if the Biſhop of *Gurck* had gone to the *Pope*'s Court; for it is very probable that the Miniſter of *France*, durſt not have followed his Colleague into the Houſe of his Maſter's Enemy: And ſince this caſe could not be foreſeen by the Court of *France*, there is reaſon to believe that *Poncher* had no Inſtructions relating to it; and therefore he warmly oppoſed the *Pope*'s deſire. *Jerom de Vich*, the King of *Arragon*'s Ambaſſadour at *Rome*, took a Journey to *Mantua*, in order to perſwade the Biſhop of *Gurck* to comply with the *Pope*'s deſire. *Vich* was one of that ſort of Miniſters, which active and reſtleſs Princes uſually chooſe, that is, always ready and capable to juſtify their Maſter's Conduct, be what it would, and to perſwade every one he ſpoke with, that what his Maſter was doing, was purely with a deſign to ſerve their Intereſt. This cunning Ambaſſadour had the skill to lay before the Biſhop of *Paris*, with dexterity and much ſeeming affection, how much it would be for the advantage both of *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, to be repreſented by one Miniſter, and that by reaſon of the great deference that Sovereign Princes had for Prieſts, it would be no prejudice to their Dignity, and that ſuch a courſe was fit to be taken, in order to the common benefit of all Chriſtendom; which at that time required, that all means ſhould be uſed to mitigate the ill humour of a *Pope*, who would infallibly be very ſenſible of this mark of Reſpect, were it put upon him, and that the *French* Prelate would forbear oppoſing the Biſhop of *Gurck* in the meaſures he inclined to take. It was therefore agreed, that the *Pope* ſhould come to *Bologna*, that the Biſhop of *Gurck* ſhould meet him there, and that the Biſhop of *Paris* ſhould ſtay for his Collegue at *Mantua*.

Never

Never did the Court of *Rome* give a more flattering Reception to any one, than they did at this time to the Biſhop of *Gurck*, all the Courtiers went to receive him at the Gate of *Bologna*, and the *Venetian* Ambaſſador reſiding at the *Pope*'s Court appear'd among them; but this *German* Prelate, inſtead of a treatment ſuitable to the ſubmiſſion that Miniſter ſeem'd to make upon this Occaſion, expreſs'd his Reſentment in very diſobliging Terms, inveighing againſt his boldneſs, for preſuming to appear with the Train of an Ambaſſadour, at the entry of the Miniſter of that Emperour, who had put the Republick of *Venice* into the Ban of the Empire. The Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Retinue attended him to the Conſiſtory, where the *Pope* ſtay'd for him; being come there, with due regard to the *Pope*'s Dignity, and his own Character, he declared, *That his Maſter had choſe rather to ſend him into* Italy, *than an Army; not but that he was able to aſſert his Right by force of Arms; but that being a Chriſtian Emperor, he choſe rather to recover what belong'd to him by the milder way of a Treaty, than by the violence of a bloody War.* He concluded his Speech with telling them, *that the* Venetians *were to expect no Peace from his Maſter, unleſs they yielded up, or reſtored all that they detained from the Empire, and from the Houſe of* Auſtria *in particular.* After the *Pope* had gone out of the Conſiſtory, he deſired to have a private Conference with the Biſhop of *Gurck*, but it was to no purpoſe, for this Miniſter ſtood firm to his Propoſal.

This was much againſt *Julius* the 2*d*'s mind, who wiſh'd that the Emperour would ſhow ſome condeſcenſion towards a Peace with the *Venetians*, and ſuch as might give him ground to oblige that Republick to conclude it. He therefore

left no ſtone unturn'd to engage the Biſhop of *Gurck* to abate ſomewhat of his firſt Demands; ſome days before his arrival, he had made a promotion of Cardinals, in which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, *Chriſtopher*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Matthew Scheiner*, Biſhop of *Lion*, received the Hat. The firſt was a Miniſter in great credit with *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, and the other had acquired himſelf great Reputation by his Eloquence in *Switzerland*. Thoſe two Inſtances of the *Pope*'s favour, were laid before the Biſhop of *Gurck*, and in an affected manner he was deſired to conſider, that the *Pope* had one Hat more ſtill vacant; which was to let him underſtand, that the *Pope* had reſerved that Hat for him, as a Reward of his Compliance; but this Prelate was very little moved with the offer of a Dignity which the *German* Biſhops think they give at leaſt as much luſtre to, as they can receive from it, and therefore he ſtood as firmly on his high Demands as ever.

The *Pope* nam'd three Commiſſioners to diſcourſe this matter with that Miniſter, thoſe were, the Cardinals of St. *George*, of *Rhegio*, and of *Medicis*, all of them Men of great eſteem in the ſacred College. The Biſhop of *Gurck* was a *German* Prelate, and knew very well that he was the favourite Miniſter of a Prince always ready to be governed. He thought it beneath his Character, to treat with any one but the *Pope* himſelf, and therefore appointed three of his Gentlemen to treat with the Cardinals the *Pope* had commiſſion'd: Such a procedure as this at any other time, would have retarded for many years the opening of a Conference, had the preſervation of Chriſtendom been the ſubject of it; but the Courts of Princes, who upon other occaſions carry their Pretenſions very high with regard to the

the Ceremonial, know how to overlook all their uſual Rules and Formalities, when they have to do with People that are ſtiff and obſtinate, and whoſe Good-will and Friendſhip they find indiſpenſibly neceſſary. *Julius* the 2*d* therefore ordered the three Cardinals to treat with the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s three Gentlemen.

What the *Pope* had moſt at heart, was to endeavour a ſeparate Peace between the *Emperor* and the Republick of *Venice*, and therefore the Conferences were opened with this Matter; but the Biſhop of *Gurck* carry'd it as high in his Demands from the *Venetians*, as he had done in the Ceremonial with the *Pope*. He required, that all the Countries and Towns which his Maſter ought to have recovered by virtue of the Treaty of *Cambray*, whether as Emperour, or as Head of the *Auſtrian* Family, ſhould be reſtored by the *Venetians*, or yielded up to him, as his Right, as if he had already ſeiz'd them.

What *Maximilian* claim'd as Head of the Family of *Auſtria*, was *Friuli* and *Iſtria*: It was in the eleventh Century that the Republick of *Venice* began to carry their Conqueſts into thoſe Countries, taking poſſeſſion of ſome part of thoſe Territories, while they were under Sovereigns whoſe Right the Houſe of *Auſtria* pretended to ſucceed to. The attempts that Houſe had made to aſſert their Right, had been all fruitleſs before the League of *Cambray*.

*Maximilian*'s pretenſions as Head of the *Germanick* Body, cannot be ſufficiently ſet forth, without explaining the Right the Empire pretends to have over *Italy*, and without giving an account of the Title by which the *Venetians* hold their Dominions in that Country; I will endeavour to repreſent this matter more plainly than *Hermannus Conringius* has done, who has wrote particularly of

the Rights the Empire claims in thoſe Countries that lye without the Verge of *Germany*, becauſe he ſpeaks in too general Terms, about the Title by which the *Venetians* hold their Poſſeſſions on the Continent.

I do not think it proper at preſent to enquire, whether or no the Rights which Conqueſt gave the *Roman* People over ſo many Countries are now extinct, or whether they ſtill exiſt, as that celebrated Lawyer, *H. Grotius* would have it; nor is it convenient at this time, to examine who are the lawful Poſſeſſors of thoſe Rights, ſuppoſing them ſtill exiſtent. It cannot be the Rights of the ancient *Cæſars*, that the *Romano-Germanick* Emperours claim. They agree, that their double-headed Eagle, which the *Italian* Poet *Luiggi Alemanni*, ſays has two Bills to enable it to devour the better, is not come from the ſame Neſt with that of the *Roman* Legions; thoſe two Empires have not the ſame Limits, nor equal Bounds. The *German* Empire includes ſeveral Provinces, which the *Roman* Eagles never flew over, and the *Roman* Empire extended it ſelf over many Countries and Kingdoms, that the *German* never laid any claim to. *Otho* the Great, would not have call'd himſelf *Otho* the *1ſt*, in the Liſt of the *German* Emperors, if the Modern Emperors had come from the ſame Stock as the *Roman* Emperors did. *Otho* the Great, would have call'd himſelf *Otho* the *2d*, becauſe there had been another Emperor of that Name before him, who ſucceeded *Galba*, and was *Vitellius*'s Predeceſſor: It is *Charlemain* whom the *German* Emperors look upon as the founder of that Monarchy, of which they are the Head. Diſintereſted Perſons cannot ſufficiently comprehend, how the Rights of that Prince, who was a Hereditary Monarch, could be tranſmitted to a *German* Republick; but what

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the *Germans* pretend, is, that the Rights of *Charlemain* were derived from him to their *Otho*'s and *Frederick*'s, in prejudice of the Kings, his Succeſſors; and that thoſe Emperors have left to the State, of which they have been the Heads, all the Rights they acquired and poſſeſs'd, ſince *Charlemain* and other Emperours have at different times been Maſters of almoſt all *Italy*, the *Germans* pretend that all that Country owes ſtill a dependance on their Empire.

The Rights that the Empire claims over *Italy*, are not every where the ſame; they challenge a *Dominium Directum* or *Supremum*, over all *Italy* almoſt, but not a *Dominium Utile*, except in ſome Provinces of it, of the former I ſhall ſpeak anon.

The Empire pretends then, that all that part of *Italy* that formerly own'd and acknowledged the Sovereignty of the *French* and *German* Emperors, is ſtill in dependance on it; and for this reaſon, becauſe that, that Right was inconteſtably acquired to the Empire, and becauſe it never was extinct: Rights once acquired by any Government, can never be loſt but by Alienation or Preſcription. That Right which is called *Dominium Supremum*, which was acquired to the Empire over *Italy* could never be extinct by Preſcription. All the Imperialiſt Lawyers maintain, that the Rights of the Imperial Crown are not in their nature liable to Preſcription, and that no time can ever extinguiſh this Right of Supream Dominion, it being inſeparably linked to that Crown. In the ſecond place, that Right of Supream Dominion was never legally and validly alienated; whatever alienations the Emperors might have made, they were all null and void, if they had not the formal and poſitive aſſent of the *German* Body aſſembled in a Diet. The Emperours, however they may be

the Heads of that Body, yet are not its Maſters, nor the Proprietors of its Rights, which they could never lawfully alienate, even before the uſe of Capitulations; by the ancient Oaths which the Emperours took at their Election, their hands were always tied as to this matter, and they were always obliged to endeavour, to the utmoſt of their Power, to preſerve and recover thoſe Rights; the Emperours therefore never had a Power to alienate the Rights of the Imperial Crown. The Conceſſion however, or Relaxation of this *Dominium Supremum*, which implies an extinction of all Dependance, is really an Alienation: After ſuch an exemption, the Empire has no further Retenſion, nor is there any hopes left of any Re-union or Reverſion of the Countries ſo releaſed; but the formal and poſitive conſent of the States of the Empire, was not had in all theſe Tranſactions, Agreements and Grants that the Emperours made for alienating the Supream Dominion that the Empire had over *Italy*. *Conringius* poſitively ſays, *That beſides that part of* Italy *which was allotted to the* French *by the laſt Peace, there was nothing alienated validly, and with the requiſite conſent of the States of the Empire.* This allotment amounts not to much, for what *Conringius* ſpeaks of here is only *Pignorol*, and a part of the Marquiſat of *Suza*, which was yielded to *France* by the Duke of *Savoy* at the Treaty of *Turin*, on the fifth of *July*, 1632. In the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*, in the year 1648, the Empire and the Emperour did releaſe, in favour of *France*, by an Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, all the Right they had over thoſe Countries which the Duke of *Savoy* had yielded. The *Supream Dominion* therefore which the Empire claims over *Italy*, is a Right that ſtill ſubſiſts in its full force.

It is ſtill a queſtion, what power the exerciſe

of

of this Supream Dominion over *Italy* gives the Emperor. He extends this Power even to the exerciſe of a Juriſdiction over the Perſons and States of his Feudataries, in ſeveral Caſes; ſuch as, levying Subſidies on them for the maintenance of his Troops, ſo long as they are in *Italy*. He likewiſe pretends to a Right of putting Garriſons in the fortified places of thoſe States, when ever he thinks it expedient; taking it for granted, that Feudataries have no Right of Arming, but dependantly on the intereſt of the Empire, and that they never ought to uſe this Right; but under the direction of their Head and Supream Lord.

There are ſeveral Sovereign Powers in *Italy*, that own the *Supream Dominion* of the *Empire*, and who acknowledging that they hold their Poſſeſſions dependantly on it, take Inveſtitures from the Emperours; but it would be to no purpoſe here to ſay what Powers thoſe are, nor how far they ſubmit themſelves to the Power, the *Emperors* claim by virtue of this *Supream Dominion*, as much as thoſe dependant States can, they limit this Power of the Emperours, ſince the exerciſe of it coſts them ſo dear. The Princes of *Italy* that depend on the Empire are its Vaſſals without being Members of it, not being properly *States of the Empire*. I mean, that the *Feudataries* in *Italy* having no Voices in the Diets, are forced to execute the Orders of the Empire, without having any hand in forming the Reſolutions by virtue of which thoſe Orders are given. In this Matter, their Condition is wiſely different from that of the States of *Germany*, who make the Laws by which themſelves are governed, and who give the Orders they themſelves are to execute.

But there are many Sovereignties in *Italy*, over whom the Empire claims this Right, who do

not however acknowledge it. The Powers that are in poſſeſſion of thoſe Sovereignties maintain, that moſt part of thoſe States never acknowledged their dependance on the *Romano-Germanick* Empire, and that thoſe who formerly might have depended on it, have long ſince ceaſed to do ſo; they alledge, that however ſome States in *Italy* might have anciently held of the Empire, that now that ancient dependance is extinct, either by Time and Diſuſe, or by Compacts and Agreements with the Emperours, or by the Dignity of their Crowns, which raiſes them above, and exempts them from all the Servitude and Dependance which the Countries they poſſeſs, might formerly have been liable to. That ſince thoſe Countries have been reunited under the obedience of Sovereign Powers, they hold of none but of God alone, ſo much as to what relates to the *Dominium Supremum.*

As to what relates to the *Dominium Utile,* we have already ſaid, that the *German* Emperour pretends to that only over ſome part of *Italy.* This *Dominium Utile,* in thoſe great Fiefs that are held by an immediate dependance on the Empire, is almoſt a real Sovereignty; for it implies the Right of Arms, the abſolute exerciſe of Juſtice, the Right of coining Money, of levying Taxes, and, in ſhort, all the Rights almoſt of Sovereignty. This is what in the terms of the *German* Law is called, *The Right of Prerogative, join'd with the Territorial Superiority.* In the great Fiefs, all theſe Rights may be lawfully enjoy'd, though there be no mention made of them in the Inveſtiture, actual poſſeſſion of them for a long time, gives a ſufficient Title to the peaceable poſſeſſion of them. *Preſcription*, which does not take place againſt the Right of *Supream Dominion*, may be a good Title againſt the Right thoſe

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Potentates have, who govern immediately the Dominions that depend and hold of them. This is the reaſon why the Empire owns ſeveral Princes of *Italy* for lawful Poſſeſſors of the *Dominium Utile*, in thoſe Countries which they hold dependantly on it.

Though the Emperours have never been allow'd to alienate the Provinces of the Empire, yet for a long time, that is, to the time of *Charles* the *5th*, they had power to grant them as Fiefs, when ever they ſaw it was for the publick Good. Theſe Conceſſions always oblige thoſe who are inveſted with them, to acknowledge their dependance on the Empire, and engage them to its Service; beſides, ſince the clauſe of Reverſion to the Empire, failing the Poſterity of the Inveſtic̀e, is always inſerted in the Inveſtitures, theſe Conceſſions are never look'd upon as real Alienations. The Infeoffments that have been made by the ſole Will and Motion of the Emperours, without the intervention of the *Germanick* Body, are by the Principles of the *German* Law good and valid, if they were made before the time of *Charles* the *5th*.

The *German* Law received ſome alteration under this Emperour; for it was at his Election that the uſe of *Capitulations* was introduced. The *Capitulation* is an *Act* which the *Emperor Elect* is obliged to ſign at his Inſtalment, and when he is crown'd as King of *Germany*, at *Aix la Chapelle*. In this *Capitulation*, which the new Emperours oblige themſelves to obſerve, their Authority is confined within very narrow bounds: By one Article, which is the *30th* in the *Leopoldine Capitulations*, they are not only poſitively forbid to confer any Fiefs of the Empire that ſhall happen to fall vacant during the Reign, without the expreſs and poſitive conſent of the Empire;

Empire; but are expreſly enjoin'd to reunite the ſame to the Imperial Crown. Wherefore the Infeoffments that have been made by *Charles* the *5th* and his Succeſſors, without the conſent of the Empire, are null and void; but on the contrary, thoſe that were granted by the ſole Authority of the Predeceſſors of *Charles* the *5th*, are held good and valid, and acknowledged for ſuch by the *Germans*. The Empire owns and acknowledges all thoſe into whoſe hands the Predeceſſors of *Charles* the *5th* have put any Fiefs, as lawful poſſeſſors of the *Dominium Utile*, or of the *Rights* of *Prerogative*, join'd with the *Territorial Superiority*, within their reſpective Dominions, under the immediate dependance of the Emperour as Head of the *Germanick* Body.

All the Princes of *Italy* do not hold their Dominions by this Title, for there are ſeveral States in *Italy*, over which the Empire claims an immediate Sovereignty; becauſe the *Dominium Utile* of thoſe Fiefs, have for a long time been reunited to, and conſolidated with the *Dominium Directum*, which is inſeparable from the Imperial Crown.

Such are thoſe Countries, which after having been under the full and immediate Authority of the Emperours, have been granted as Fiefs to certain Lords, to be held and poſſeſs'd by them dependantly on the Empire, upon condition of Reverſion, in default of the Inveſteer; and which ſince that Grant have paſs'd into the hands of Strangers, either by Acquiſitions, Donations, Exchange, or Conqueſts. Thoſe Strangers are the Potentates that enjoy the Fiefs of the Empire, without holding their Right of the Empire, or being own'd and acknowledg'd by it as Rightful Poſſeſſors.

Beſides,

Beſides, the Empire pretends, that the immediate Sovereignty of all theſe Fiefs belongs to it by the Right of *Reverſion* and *Reunion*. The Right of thoſe who had poſſeſs'd them lawfully, by virtue of the *Imperial Inveſtitures*, is extinct, either with the poſterity of the Inveſteè, or by the treachery of the Perſons inveſted, who have put into the hands of Strangers, the ſeveral Truſts the Empire had committed to their charge. The Right therefore of thoſe who now detain thoſe Fiefs, is null and void: For, firſt, it is lame and defective in its Original, not having iſſued and proceeded validly from any conceſſion of the Lord *Paramount*, of the Fiefs poſſeſs'd, that is, the Emperour. Secondly, No proceſs of time could ever have rendered it good; the immediate Sovereignty, or the *Dominium Utile* of thoſe Fiefs, upon their vacancy, or the treſpaſs of thoſe who held them, became reunited to the *Dominium Directum*, or to the *Dominium Supremum*. Nor could *Preſcription* be alledged againſt the Right of the *Supream Dominion*, nor can any length of time be pleaded in prejudice of this Right; and therefore the Rights of thoſe Princes whom the Empire looks upon as Uſurpers of thoſe Dominions, grow no better by length of time that has paſs'd, ſince they were firſt poſſeſs'd by thoſe from whom they had them. We ſee then, that this Right is void in it ſelf, and ſignifies nothing, whether it has come by Exchange, Donation, or Conqueſt, even though the War had been juſt on the part of the Conquerors. All the Acts and Deeds that have been made with relation to theſe Rights and Dominions, are eſſentially null and void, and their Antiquity begets them no manner of regard.

Thus the *Dominium Utile*, or the immediate Sovereignty of thoſe Fiefs, whoſe awful Poſſeſſors are

are not exiſtent, and whoſe actual Poſſeſſors are to be reputed Uſurpers, belong to the Empire as Fiefs actually vacant. This is what the *German* Lawyers pretend and maintain, and according to their Laws, with relation to this matter, there are a great many Uſurpers in *Italy*; but at preſent we will only enquire into the Conſequences of theſe Laws, with regard to the Republick of *Venice*.

In the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, and in the year the League of *Cambray* was concluded, the *Venetians* were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral Countries and Places to which the Empire claim'd a Right in both the aforeſaid kinds. That Republick poſſeſs'd ſome Dominions over which the Empire claim'd only a *Dominium Supremum*; but ſhe poſſeſs'd others over which it pretended to the immediate Sovereignty.

Before the battle of *Agnadel*, the *Venetians* were Maſters of ſome parts of a great many Fiefs that were really in their Natures, Fiefs of the Empire, and whoſe former Poſſeſſors had taken Inveſtitures from the Emperours: The Republick was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral Dominions in the Hereditary Countries of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſuch as *Roveredo*, which is in the Biſhoprick of *Trent*, *Peſchiera*, *Aſola*, and *Lunato*, in the Marquiſate of *Mantua*. In the Dutchy of *Milan* ſhe had *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Crema* and *Cremona*, with their Territories, beſides the Country call'd the *Ghiara d'Adda*; but we have already ſpoke largely of this Matter, when we were diſcourſing of the intereſt of the ſeveral Princes who ſign'd the League of *Cambray*. The *Germans* alledged, that at leaſt the *Venetians* ought to have acknowledged the dependance on the Empire, of the parts of thoſe Fiefs they poſſeſs'd. They pleaded likewiſe, that ſuch parts of thoſe Fiefs as have paſs'd into

into other hands from thoſe of the Inveſtees, without the intervention of the Lord *Paramount*, ſhould not be deem'd to have changed their Nature, upon the change of their Maſter; but the *Venetians* would never acknowledge the *Paramountſhip* of the *Empire*, over ſuch parts of the Imperial Fiefs, as had become ſubject to them; but always maintain'd the ſame *Independant Sovereignty* over them, as they did over their other Dominions. They alledged, that thoſe Diſmembrings were become free, and exempted from all ſervitude and dependance on any other, by their being united to a Sovereign Crown, which held of none but God alone. From the firſt year of the League of *Cambray*, all thoſe Diſmembrings we have been ſpeaking of, were reunited to the Imperial Fiefs, and returned to their old Dependance on the Empire. The Biſhop of *Gurck* demanded, that the *Republick* ſhould diſclaim all their Rights and Pretenſions to thoſe Diſmembrings, for the benefit of the Feudataries of the Empire, who had reunited them to the Bodies of their Fiefs. He required further, that the *Republick* ſhould oblige it ſelf, never to diſturb or moleſt, upon the account of its paſs'd Poſſeſſion, thoſe who by virtue of Imperial Inveſtitures, ſhould enjoy the Fiefs from which thoſe parts had been formerly torn.

It will be proper in this place, to ſhow what parts of the *Venetian* Dominions, thoſe were which the Emperour would have reunited to the Imperial Crown, and of which he demanded Poſſeſſion, as of a Fief extinct, and devolved to the Lord *Paramount*. Every one knows, that the Authority of the *German* Emperours, Succeſſors of *Charlemain*, has not been the ſame at all times in *Italy*; ſometimes they aſſerted it very glorioufly, at other times they were not able to maintain

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it: At laſt, for a buttreſs to their tottering Power, they fell upon an expedient, which was to give large Towns with their Neighbouring Territories in Fief, to certain Men in thoſe Countries, whoſe Merits, Valour, or Boldneſs, had diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of their Countrymen. Sometimes the Emperours ſuffered thoſe bold and daring Men, ſuch as are always to be found in Countries where the Sovereign Authority is not reverenced enough to keep the Subjects in awe, and who are equally diſpoſed to ſatisfy their Ambition, by juſt or unjuſt Means, to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of ſome Towns, which had formerly lived in the enjoyment of their Liberty and Property, under the Supream Dominion of the Empire. The Emperours did not think it beneath them to own thoſe audacious Men for their Vaſſals, when they found occaſion for their Service: By this means, thoſe Lords thought themſelves obliged to raiſe and improve the Authority from whence their own was derived. This was it that moved the Emperours to allow the *Scala*'s and the *Carrata*'s, to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of certain Towns and Territories bordering upon the *Laguni*, and at laſt to own them as Feudataries of the Empire. The *Laguni* are the Land that has been overflowed by the *Adriatick* Sea, and it is in the middle of the Water that covers it, that the City of *Venice* ſtands.

Though the *Venetians* were a very conſiderable State, by reaſon of their Naval Force, and the Dominions they poſſeſs'd in the *Levant*, yet it was a long time before they thought of making themſelves greater by any acquiſitions on the *Terra Firma*: At that time, they are ſaid to have reckon'd very much upon certain Enigmatical Figures in Moſaick Work in the Church of St. *Mark*,

St. *Mark*, which repreſents by various allegorical Figures, and prophetick Emblems, a great many events that have come to paſs long after thoſe Figures were made. It is thought, that the Abbot *Joachim* contrived thoſe Myſterious Pieces in the Church of St. *Mark*, that I have been ſpeaking of. It is very well known, that this Abbot, who was ſo famous for his many Prophecies repreſented in Allegorical Figures, lived in the twelfth Century, in great Reputation, as a Man to whom the moſt diſtant futurity was as well known, as the time he lived in.

The moſt celebrated of thoſe Prophetical Moſaick Pieces, next to the Deſcription of St. *Francis*, and St. *Dominic*, who are repreſented in the proper habit of their Order, many years before thoſe Orders were inſtituted, are thoſe of the Pavement of the Croſs-work of St. *Mark*, which is on the left hand as you go into that Church. It is there that you ſee the Prediction of what happened to *Lewis* the *More*, a Man ſo noted for his Subtilty and Cunning, when the *French* ſeiz'd him at *Novara*. This Event is repreſented by a Fox tied to a Stick, which is carry'd by two Cocks, each having an end of it in his Beak. After this Piece is that which has given me occaſion to mention theſe Prophetick Hieroglyphicks at *Venice*, which are the Oracle of that Country, ſince every Country muſt have one. The Piece I mean, has repreſented the fate of the Republick of *Venice*, above four hundred years before the event happened: There you ſee the two Lyons of St. *Mark*, that is winged, and ſuch as they are in the Arms of that Republick. One of thoſe Lyons which is drawn ſwiming in the Sea, is repreſented as luſty and ſtrong, as the other, that is repreſented feeding on the Land, is lean and weak; as the Sea, that

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is, their Naval Force and Commerce, has made the Repuclick of *Venice* Prosperous and Flouriſhing, ſo their Conqueſts on the Continent, have procured their Miſery and Diſgrace. The incredulous perhaps may think, that the Abbot *Joachim*, without any gift of Prophecy, might have foretold to the Republick of *Venice*, what is the ordinary fate of Republicks; that is, that they flouriſh ſo long as they uſe their Forces for promoting and maintaining their Trade, by Maritime Enterprizes, and diſtant Acquiſitions, whereas they decay and wither whenever they attempt to make Conqueſts by Land near home, which avail nothing to their Commerce, and ſerve only to give Jealouſy and Umbrage to their Neighbours.

The Conduct of the *Venetians* was very wiſe for a long time in this Point; but at laſt, weary of being the richeſt People in *Italy*, they would needs be the greateſt Lords in it. In order to that, if they did not ſet their Neighbours together by the ears, at leaſt by their ſupporting ſometimes one, ſometimes another of them, they kept up Quarrels and Differences among them, and made advantage of their Diviſions. In the year 1339, they accompliſh'd their Deſign of obliging the *Scala*'s to give up *Treviſo* to their Republick. The *Carrata*'s, who had raiſed their Greatneſs upon the Spoil of the *Scala*' having rendered themſelves odious by their Barbarities, the *Venetians* lay'd hold of that Opportunity to ruine them, and after a ſucceſsful War with them, made both them and their Children Priſoners. The abhorrence every one had for that cruel and criminal Family, was the reaſon why no body minded whether thoſe who executed Juſtice upon them, had a right to do it or not; all the World commended the *Venetians* for what they had done,

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in putting the *Carrata*'s to death, in the year 1406. though two of them were too young to have ſo great a hand in the Crimes of their Fathers, as deſerve to ſhare in their fate; they were however imputed to the Sons, and the Dominions of the Republick grew upon the ruin and extinction of this Family. The Spoils the *Venetians* got by deſtroying it, were the Towns and Territories of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua*, *Legnago*, and a great many other places of leſs Note, which at this time make up three of their chief Governments in the *Terra Firma*, under the names of the *Veroneze*, the *Vicentine*, and the *Padouan*.

The Biſhop of *Gurck* demanded the yielding up of the four Provinces of the *Veroneze*, the *Vicentine*, the *Padouan*, and the *Marca di Treviſano*; he alledged, that it did not at all belong to the Republick of *Venice*, to do Juſtice upon the Feudataries of the Empire. That whatever Crimes they might be guilty of, yet their Confiſcations ought not to continue in the hands of the *Venetians*, ſince the Crimes of the Vaſſals could no ways prejudice the Rights of the Lord *Paramount*. That what the *Venetians* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of, and enjoyed, was a real Uſurpation, and that no length of time could ever alter the nature of it. That upon the extinction of the Inveſtees, the Fiefs ſhould have returned to the Imperial Crown, whoſe Rights could not be liable to Preſcription. The Biſhop further ſaid, that it was upon condition of being put in poſſeſſion of thoſe Fiefs that *Maximilian* had ſign'd the League of *Cambray*; by which *Julius* the 2*d* himſelf was bound and obliged to ſee due Juſtice done his Imperial Majeſty in this Matter. The Biſhop of *Gurck* did not at all plead, that his Maſters Pretenſions reached the City of *Venice*, though the Author of *The enquiry into the Original Liberty of*

Venice, has maintained ſince that time, that the City of *Venice* it ſelf, was anciently dependant on the *Romano-Germanick* Empire. This Prelate, who was a Man well acquainted with the Rights of the Empire, would not have failed to require of the *Venetians*, that they ſhould own the dependance of their Capital City on the Empire, if he had thought that he could ſet up this Pretenſion upon any reaſonable ground, eſpecially conſidering, that he could not have a more favourable occaſion for making this Demand: By his ſilence in this matter, it would appear, that he believed his Pretenſions in this Point, could not be back'd by any good Reaſons, and conſequently, that the Ambaſſador *Juſtinian*'s Speech, of which we have ſpoke largely already, is ſuppoſitious, and made by *Guicciardin*. Had that been a true Speech, it would have afforded inconteſtable proofs of the Obedience the *Venetians* formerly paid the Emperors; and the Biſhop of *Gurck*, *Maximilian*'s Miniſter, before whom it had been delivered two years before, muſt have known of it.

*Jerom Donato*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at the Court of *Rome*, made a notable Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Demands, without entering upon a particular enquiry into the nature of the Rights which the Republick had acquired over the Countries which they had loſt, ſince the beginning of the League of *Cambray*, he offered an intire conceſſion of thoſe Rights of what nature ſoever they might be; but he did upon good ground, aſſert the Rights of his Country over *Treviſo*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua*, and their Territories, which was all they had preſerved of their Dominions on the *Terra Firma*. He alledged, that thoſe Places had been conquered in a War that was very juſt on the *Venetians* ſide. That if the Empire intended that no body ſhould meddle with its

its Fiefs, it ſhould take care to prevent its Vaſſals giving provocation to their Neighbours, or ſee Juſtice done to thoſe they injured or affronted. That by the Empire's neglecting to puniſh the *Scala*'s, and the *Carrata*'s, it had given ground to think that thoſe Robbers were under no Subjection: That the *Venetians* having often, but in vain, given in their Complaints againſt them to the Empire, they had been at laſt forced to expoſe themſelves to all the hazards of a troubleſom War, in order to preſerve themſelves from the inſults of thoſe turbulent Neighbours. That therefore the *Venetians* had a Right to do themſelves Juſtice by ſuch ways as are allowed to all Sovereign Powers, ſince they could not obtain it at *Prague*. That the Empire having never interpoſed in all the long Quarrels, between the *Venetians* and thoſe reſtleſs People, and having done nothing to redreſs the Republick of *Venice*, notwithſtanding they had been often required to do it, as they were obliged to do by virtue of the Empire's being Paramount, there was ground to believe that it had renounced that Title: that the Empire had wholly loſt that Title, with regard to the Neighbours of thoſe Fiefs, becauſe it had not performed the Duties to which that Title obliged it. That therefore the Emperors came too late to reap the fruits of what the *Venetians* had labour'd for with the ſweat of their Brow, and of what they had purchaſed at the expence of their Blood. That the Law of Nations gave them a juſt Title to the Goods of their unjuſt Aggreſſors, by the Laws of Conqueſts, and of publick Safety, and of reimburſing themſelves of the charges of a War they had been forced to make. That the *Venetians* had the ſame Title to what the *Scala*'s and the *Carrata*'s had poſſeſs'd, as all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom have to their Domi-

nions; that is, a Right by Conqueſt, to which their Anceſtors had acquired a long time before. That the Conqueſt which gave the *Venetians* their Right, had been got by their Anceſtors, in a War that was juſt on their ſide, which was more than moſt Sovereign Princes could ſay of the Military Acquiſitions of their Predeceſſors. That the Republick of *Venice* had been in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Padoua*, which was the laſt of the Dominions now in queſtion that it had been conquered, for above a hundred years; and that according to the Law of Nations, it was not bound to ſhow any other Title for that Poſſeſſion, than the very Poſſeſſion it ſelf. That a hundred years Poſſeſſion was ſo much to be regarded, that it gave a ſufficient Right of Preſcription to whoſoever could produce it in his own favour. That the Right of Preſcription was the moſt ſacred of all Laws, and the only one that could ſecure the Peace and Tranquility of all Mankind. That all Nations had mutually ancient Claims and Pretenſions againſt each other, and that if Preſcription ceaſed to be a brazen Wall againſt thoſe pretended Rights; and if thoſe old Pretenſions were heard and received otherwiſe than with Contempt and Scorn, the whole Univerſe would become one Den of Thieves and Robbers, where Power muſt be the only Law, and the ſtrongeſt Hand muſt give the juſteſt Title. That the Preſcription which the Republick pleads in its own favour, was founded upon ſomething more than a bare Enjoyment. That the Emperors had made ſeveral Treaties with the *Venetians*, ſince the time they had been in poſſeſſion of the *Scala*'s and *Carrata*'s Dominions, without thoſe Princes ſtipulating any Reſtitution of thoſe Lands that had formerly been Imperial Fiefs. That according to the Law of Nations, thoſe Treaties

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ſhould paſs for formal Renunciations on the part of the *Germans* of all Claim or Pretenſions they had over the Dominions of the Republick. That thoſe who had not aſſerted their Right, when there was a proper occaſion to do it, were deem'd to have renounced it, and that Treaties of Peace were the true occaſions for Princes to aſſert the Rights they pretended to preſerve. No body can tell on what terms they are with them, if they are allowed induſtriouſly to bury in ſilence, old and forgotten Pretenſions, for no other end but to have a pretence in reſerve to attack their Neighbours whenever they ſee it for their own Advantage. That it was to no purpoſe that the Biſhop of *Gurck* pleaded, that according to the Conſtitutions, and the feudal Law of *Germany*, the Rights of the Imperial Crown were not liable to Preſcription; and that neither the neglect of Emperors, nor their Engagements, nor proceſs of Time that covers the defect of all Poſſeſſions, could ever extinguiſh thoſe Rights. That however thoſe Laws might be fit to be pleaded againſt Subjects, and thoſe who had made them according to their own mind, yet that they ought never to be objected againſt Sovereign Powers of another Country. That tho' the *Venetians* freely own'd, that the Empire of *Germany* was ſuch a Power as had the Right of Arms, and a ſufficient Authority to make ſuch Laws and Statutes within its own Dominions, as it ſhould judge moſt proper and wholeſom, yet they could never acknowledge any ſuch Power, and Legiſlative Authority in it, as could in any manner bind them to obey and ſubmit to its Decrees and Ordinances. That Conteſts and Controverſies ariſing between any two People, could never be determined by the Municipal and particular Laws of either, much leſs according to

the caprice of the Feudal Laws of the Empire, which were the oddeſt and moſt ſingular of all Laws; but that all ſuch Diſputes ought to be decided according to the wiſe and general Law of Nations, which are Laws upon which natural Equity and Juſtice has ſtampt ſuch a Character as commands Reverence and Reſpect, and forces Reception where-ever ſound Reaſon prevails; and that with an awe and ſubmiſſion equal to that with which Subjects receive and obey the Laws and Statutes of their own Princes and Legiſlators. That there is nothing more ſacred in all the Law of Nations, than that which ordains that great regard ſhould be had to Preſcription. That it was no People's intereſt more than the *Germans*, to look upon Preſcription as an inviolable Sanctuary. That Preſcription founded upon a long Poſſeſſion, was the only legal Barrier they could ſet in oppoſition to the *French*, ſhould they ever ſtart their Pretenſions to thoſe Rights that were acquired by *Charlemain* to their Crown, and lay claim to the Empire, by virtue of *Charlemain*'s being born King of *France*. That both the Empire of *Germany*, and the Kingdom of *Italy*, were Acquiſitions which that Prince made at the expence of the Blood of the *French*; and that according to the Laws of the *French* Monarchy, which muſt be own'd to be as good as thoſe of the *German* Empire, and which are much more ancient, thoſe Acquiſitions ought to have been annex'd to the principal Crown of *Charlemain*, ſo as never to be validly alienated from it. That if the Biſhop of *Gurck*'s Maxims were adapted by other Nations, and ſhould they become the General Laws of Mankind, the Rights which the Empire claims over *Italy*, and the dependance of moſt part of *Germany* it ſelf, would be inſeparably annexed to the Crown of *France*. That the

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*German* Empire had been formed as other States were, by ſeizing on other People's Poſſeſſions; and that therefore nothing but Preſcription could give them a good Title to their Acquiſitions. Nor ought the *Germans* to fancy that they were the favourate People of Heaven, which had priviledged them only to ſet up a true and laſting Title upon Preſcription. That thoſe Rights which the Empire had formerly acquired by the ſubmiſſion of thoſe who had acknowledged its Supream Dominion, was extinct, by reaſon of a long continued independance afterwards, or by the Obedience he had for a long time paid to other Sovereigns.

On another Occaſion, the *Pope* would have thought the caſe of the *Venetians* at this time, which was very near a kin to his own, juſt and inconteſtable; But his darling Project of inducing them to make a ſeparate Peace with *Maximilian*, obliged him to think that they ought, as the caſe then ſtood, to ſatisfy that Prince as to a great part of his Demands. The Biſhop of *Gurck* on his part, abated ſomething of the rigour of his firſt Demands, and by the *Pope*'s Mediation, the two Parties ſeem'd to agree upon the following Conditions.

That the *Venetians* ſhould preſerve all they poſſeſs'd in *Triuli* and *Iſtria*; that they ſhould keep *Padoua* and *Treviſo*, together with their Territories, dependantly on the Empire. That they ſhould take Inveſtitures of thoſe Dominions; for which Deeds they ſhould pay the Emperor four hundred thouſand Crowns at different times.

But this Agreement was never reduced into a formal Treaty. The Biſhop of *Gurck*, according to the poſitive Orders he had receiv'd from the Emperor, would not conſent to ſign the Peace with the *Venetians*, unleſs at the ſame time the

*Pope* ſign'd his with the King of *France* and the Duke of *Ferrara*. This did not at all ſuit the *Pope*'s Deſign, for what he propoſed, was to bring about a Peace between the Emperor and the *Venetians*, with no other intent than to continue the War againſt *France*, with new Advantages: The nearer therefore the *French* drew, the further the *Pope* removed himſelf. At laſt Matters came to that Point, that the Biſhop of *Gurck* left *Bologna*, after he had ſtaid there a Fortnight to no purpoſe, full of Indignation againſt the ſtiffneſs of *Julius* the 2*d*. No body could tell what to think of the *Pope*'s Conduct. While he was on ill terms with the King of *France*, he broke off intirely with the Emperor, and ſeem'd to be incens'd againſt the King of *Arragon*. *Ferdinand* ſhow'd a mighty deſire to have the *Pope* and the moſt Chriſtian King reconcil'd, and his Ambaſſador expreſs'd great earneſtneſs to bring it about, during the Conference at *Bologna*, inſomuch that he could not help dropping ſome angry and threatning Expreſſions againſt his Holineſs, if the Negotiation ſhould break off on his ſide; but thoſe that knew this Prince, and who formed a Character of his Miniſters by that of their Maſter, believed that thoſe mighty pretences of the Ambaſſador of *Arragon* were not ſincere, and that he encouraged the *Pope* ſecretly, as much as he frighten'd him in Publick.

The Orders *Trivulze* had receiv'd to forbear all Action during the Congreſs, expir'd upon its Diſſolution; he therefore took the Field on the firſt day of *May*, with an Army conſiſting of twelve hundred Spearmen, and ſeven thouſand Foot, very impatient, as *Guicciardin* ſays, to ſhow his Maſter how much he was to blame for not ſending ſooner old and experienc'd Officers to Command his Troops, inſtead of putting that Command

mand into the hands of young Men who had no Skill, nor any Merit to plead but Favour. The firſt Place *Trivulze* found in his march was *Concorda*, which he inſulted; the *Pope*'s Troops defended themſelves ſo ill in it, that it was no ſooner attack'd, than it was taken. From *Concorda*, *Trivulze* march'd directly to *Buon Porto* on the *Panaro*, and encamped there. His Deſign in this, was to cut off the Enemies Proviſions, who ſtill kept cloſe in their Poſt at *Buondeno*, and drew all their Subſiſtence from *Bologna*: Having intelligence on his way, that *Manfrone* with three hundred *Venetian* Horſe lay on this ſide the *Panaro*, over againſt *Final* in *Modena*, he detacht *Gaſton de Foix*, who was known to be admirable at ſuch cloſe and brave Actions, to fall upon him. This young Gentleman had never been employ'd in any Action of greater Importance: So ſoon as *Trivulze* reach'd *Buon Porto*, he endeavour'd to lay his Bridge over the *Panaro*; but he underſtood that the Enemy upon the News of his march, had poſted themſelves on the Banks of the River to hinder his Paſſage. This was no hard matter for them to do, ſince for ſome diſtance from *Buon Porto*, the Banks of the *Panaro* are impracticable. *Trivulze* therefore reſolved to march his Army up the River, till he ſhould find a more convenient place to paſs it. The Enemy kept pace with him on the right ſide of the River, while the *French* were marching up on the left; inſomuch that the *French* were obliged to advance higher than *Modena*, and to enter among the little Hills that lie at the foot of the *Appennine* Mountains. *Vitfraſt*, who at that time commanded in *Modena* for the Emperor, found means to furniſh them with Proviſions. There are abundance of Fords in the *Panaro* among theſe Hills, and the Banks of it thereabout are very low.

*Trivulze*

*Trivulze* therefore march'd his Army over at one of those Fords, and encamped within three Miles of the Enemy. The Enemy, for whom he had been two nimble in his march, not having the assistance of Nature any more to oppose the *French*, left them in possession of the Field, and went and encamped at *Casalechio*. This Post is inaccessible, by reason of the adjoining Morasses, and the Canal of *Bologna* that covers it; and the Situation of it is such, that it is no hard matter for those that have it, to keep it.

*Trivulze* at first was in great doubt, whether or no he should make an attempt upon *Bologna*; he thought that it imported much the Honour of the *French* Arms, not to be baulked at that place a second time; and he considered, that his Troops would not be able to carry it by strength of Hand against the *Pope*'s Army, in conjunction with that of *Venice*, who defended it. The *Bentivogli*, who were then in the *French* Army, assur'd him, that so soon as he drew near the City, the People would take up Arms, and declare for them; but he thought it not consistent with the Rules of Prudence, to depend upon what Exiles advised in such cases. *Trivulze* had a mind to be inform'd rather by disinterested Persons concerning the Temper and Disposition of the Inhabitants of *Bologna*, and being assured that they were well affected to the *Bentivogli*, he marched directly thither, and encamped at *Pontelaino*. This is the place that is so famous in the *Roman* History, for the Interview between the young *Cæsar*, *Mark Antony*, and *Lepidus*; which ended in the detestable Conspiracy, that is known by the Name of the *Triumvirate*.

Upon the first notice of the march of the *French* Army, *Julius* the 2*d* left *Bologna*, to put himself at the Head of his Troops; he thought that by his

his Preſence, he would oblige his Generals to give the Enemy Battle; which he could not prevail with them to do, by all his Written Orders. When he left *Bologna*, he deſign'd to lodge at *Cento*; but he found that he durſt not enter that Place, for fear of being inſulted by a thouſand Men of his own Troops, who were quartered there. They had mutiny'd, and demanded their Pay, with their Arms in their Hands. The Inſolence of thoſe Soldiers of his, made him reflect to what dangers he muſt needs be expoſed, ſhould he go to the Army, and find himſelf involv'd in the confuſion of a loſt Battle. He therefore thought it not adviſeable to commit a Dignity, ſuch as his was, into the Hands of Soldiers. Immediately therefore he returned to *Bologna*, which place he enter'd in great confuſion, being afraid of every body, and believing that no body ſtood any more in awe of him. Soon after he took a Reſolution of retireing to *Ravenna*, to ſhelter himſelf from the Storm he ſaw juſt ready to break out. Before he put this Deſign of his in execution, he call'd together the forty, or the Senate of *Bologna*. He repreſented to them, with all the earneſtneſs he could then expreſs, how much it was for the intereſt of the *Bolognois* to continue faithful to the *Pope*; and of what Conſequence it was to them not to receive the *Bentivogli*, whom they had exaſperated by the Affronts and Diſgrace they had put upon them, into their City; eſpecially, ſince they came in the Company of the *French*: The Perſon who was at the Head of that Body, aſſur'd his Holineſs of the Fidelity of that People, in the extravagant and prolix Stile of the *Bolognois*, who, as *Guicciardin* ſays, do not ſo much ſpeak ill, as they talk too much and too loud.

On

On the fourteenth of *May*, *Julius* the 2*d* left *Bologna*, where he left the Cardinal of *Pavia* in quality of Legate. He went to *Ravenna* by the way of *Furli*, because that was the safest, though it was the longest way thither. Before he was got to *Ravenna*, the *French* were in *Bologna*. The Cardinal of *Pavia* fearing his Garrison was too weak, sent for a Reinforcement of a thousand Men; one of the Priviledges of the Inhabitants of *Bologna*, of which they have very many, is, that the Sovereign can put no Garrison into their City, without their express Consent. The Cardinal of *Pavia* did not think fit to ask their Consent for this Reinforcement, probably because he thought that the Consent of the Inhabitants to receive a Garrison in General, did not extend to any Troops that might be sent for to augment it. The People shut the Gates of the City against the Reinforcement which the Cardinal would have brought in, and their doing so was the Signal of a Tumult. The Friends of the *Bentivogli*, laid hold on this Opportunity to set up their Standard, and to excite the People to echo out acclamations of Joy in favour of them: The *Italians* not being over-fond of the Government of Priests, even though they treat their Subjects with more Humanity, than most Secular Princes in that Country do, a great number of People join'd the Friends of the *Bentivogli*. No sooner was this done, than all the Streets rung with *Long live the* Bentivogli, *Long live* France; and though the *French* Army were yet a days march from *Bologna*, a report flew through the whole City, that they were actually in it, nay, so positive were those that spread the Report, that they nam'd the particular Gate at which they had enter'd. The Cardinal of *Pavia* seeing that all was lost, made the best of his way to *Immola*;

*la*; and the Soldiers of the Garriſon leap'd down the Walls of the City, to get home to their own Houſes, only a handful of the boldeſt of them, ſhut themſelves up in the Citadel.

So ſoon as the Legate was gone, the Senate declar'd for the *Bentivogli*, who, upon the firſt notice of the Tumult in *Bologna*, having parted from *Trivulze*'s Camp, together with the Light-Horſe of the *French* Army, ſoon arrived at the City, and were received into it in the ſame manner, as Sovereign Princes are received into their Capital Cities in the greateſt Peace and Tranquility. The Pope's and the *Venetian* Army, whoſe Right extended as far as *Bologna*, had offer'd their Service to put a ſtop to the growing Sedition; but the Burgers fearing they ſhould be plunder'd, unanimouſly agreed to ſhut and defend the Gates that were next to their Camp. This Army durſt not make any Motion towards appearing before the other Gates of the City, or entering it by the Citadel, for fear of falling in with the *French*, whoſe Standard ſeem'd to them to be already in ſight, though they were then a whole days march diſtant. The News of the *Bentivogli*'s having enter'd *Bologna*, put them in as great confuſion, as if they had loſt a Battle. There would not a Man of them have eſcaped, had *Trevulze* come up while they were in this confuſion at their decamping; but he was five Miles diſtant from the Enemy, when he received the News that they were fled: However, the Diligence the *French* Army uſed, and the Diſturbance which the Light-Horſe that had come with the *Bentivogli* gave them, by charging them often in their Retreats, gave *Trivulze* time enough to overtake their Rear. No ſooner did the *French* caſt their Eyes on any Body of them, than they were immediately diſperſed. They left the whole

Baggage

Baggage and Artillery of their Army, without making the leaſt Reſiſtance; and the Efforts which ſome of the Enemies Generals made to make their Men ſtand, had no other effect, than to get all thoſe that did obey them, either kill'd or taken Priſoners: This Event happen'd on the one and twentieth day of *May*. The day following *Trivulze* reſted at *Bologna*, and the next day he march'd and encamped at *Caſtel San-Pietro*, on the Frontiers of the *Bologneze*, towards the Dominions of the Church. He did not intend however to enter thoſe Countries in a hoſtile manner, till ſuch time as he ſhould receive freſh Orders from the King. Thoſe he had receiv'd before, empower'd him only to re-eſtabliſh the *Bentivogli* in *Bologna*, according to what had been agreed upon in the Aſſembly at *Tours*. The Reſpect that was then paid to the *Popes* of *Rome*, was profound in proportion to the extent of their Authority; whereas now that Reſpect is mightily leſſen'd in the Hearts of a great number of Catholicks, by reaſon of their Converſation and Correſpondence with Proteſtants.

*Trivulze* therefore refuſed the Keys of *Immola*, which the Inhabitants came to preſent to him; and contenting himſelf with having executed his firſt Orders, and with having diſingaged the Duke of *Ferrara*, he forbore all Hoſtilities againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, though they were deſtitute of Forces to defend them. The King by the new Orders he ſent *Trivulze*, juſtified and approved of what he had done; but at the ſame time enjoyn'd him, not to puſh the Advantages he had got any further, but to march back the Army of *France*, into the *Milaneze*, ſo ſoon as he had reſtor'd the *Pico*'s to their Dominions; there is reaſon to think, that *Lewis* the 12*th* ought either to have improved his Succeſſes, till he had obliged

obliged the *Pope* to come to a reaſonable Accommodation, or that he ought to have taken proper meaſures to appeaſe him. The middle way between theſe two, ſerves only to put off a Peace; which cannot be obtain'd, but either by a vigorous proſecution of the War againſt the Enemy, or by giving him the Satisfaction he requires. The Duke of *Ferrara* in the mean time made his Advantage of the defeat of the Enemies Army, by retaking all the little places they had taken from him, and being ſatisfy'd that *Albert Pio* had done him ſeveral ill Offices at the Court of *Rome*, he ſeiz'd upon his ſhare of the Sovereignty of *Carpi*. It will perhaps be ſome Satisfaction to the Reader, to know what the fate of this Perſon was. After he had for a conſiderable time made different Figures in *Italy*, ſometimes with the white Scarf, ſometimes with the red, at laſt he forſook his own Country, in which he could find no ſafe Retreat, by reaſon of the Family of *Eſte*'s Indignation againſt him: Of all thoſe he had offended, he thought the *French* would be the moſt merciful, and the moſt capable to forgive what was paſs'd; he therefore retir'd to *Paris*, where he liv'd in no ſmall eſteem till the year 1535, and died then in the Habit of a Cordelier, in which he order'd that he ſhould be buried. He was interr'd in the great Convent of that Order, and there is ſtill to be ſeen in the Quire a brazen Statue of the Count of *Carpi*, which formerly ſtood over the place where he was buried. The Circumſtances of his Death, gave occaſion to the Wits of that time to ſay abundance of very ingenious things; but to none of them more than *Marot* and *Eraſmus*, the latter of whom heartily hated the Count of *Carpi*. This Count had employed the laſt years of his Life in writing againſt the then new Opinions, and in

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one of his Books he had ſeverely cenſured the Raillery that is ſcattered all over *Eraſmus*'s Colloquies; the indiſcretion and ill effect of which the Author himſelf muſt no doubt have been ſenſible of, conſidering the times in which he wrote and publiſh'd them. It is ſaid, that *Eraſmus* being very much nettled at this Cenſure, though he knew that he deſerved it, took occaſion from the Circumſtances and Death of the Count of *Carpi*, to write that ingenious Satyr call'd *Exequiæ Seraphicæ*.

The Citadel which *Julius* the 2*d* cauſed to be made at *Bologna*, did not hold out long: ſo ſoon as it had ſurrendred, *Vitfroſt*, the Emperors Commiſſary in *Italy*, warmly demanded that it ſhould be put into his Hands, as a Fort, as he pretended, of a Place that was an Imperial Fief. The *Bolognians* fearing that there might a Juncture happen, when they ſhould be obliged to give him Satisfaction in this Matter, and on the other hand, fearing that the King of *France*, who on many accounts, would find it convenient to have it in his poſſeſſion, might put Troops into it, immediately reſolved to raze it to the Ground; and the Reſolution was no ſooner taken, than 'twas executed. The People believing they ſhould lay the foundation of their Liberty upon the Ruines of this Citadel, wrought ſo hard Night and Day at the demoliſhing of it, that at the end of two Days, there was no footſteps of it to be ſeen on the Spot where it had ſtood.

There happen'd none of thoſe Diſorders in *Bologna*, which the People had been threatn'd with in caſe the *Bentivogli* were reſtor'd to their former Poſſeſſions and Authority. The Parties that were for and againſt them, mutually embraced each other, and made mutual promiſes to live together for the future like good Friends and Coun-

Countrymen. There was no Diſaſter but what happened to a Statue of *Julius* the 2*d*; he had order'd it to be ſet up in Honour of him, in the largeſt Square of the City, when he drove out the *Bentivogli*, and ſeiz'd upon the Poſſeſſions. The People having from a ſenſible Motive, conceiv'd an inveterate hatred and averſion againſt this Statue, threw it down, and broke it in pieces. The outward Air and Phyſiagnomy of *Julius*, correſponded with the inward Temper and Diſpoſition of his Mind, both were proud and haughty, even to a degree of Wildneſs and Cruelty. This Statue repreſented him ſtanding in the poſture and habit of a Soldier, holding up however his right Hand towards Heaven, as if he were giving his Benediction. The Sculpter that made this Statue, was the famous *Michael Angelo*, but whether it was by the character of the Hero, or by the admirable taſt of the Workman, it was eaſy to perceive, that it imprinted more Terror, than it inſpired Devotion in thoſe that looked on it. It was no ſooner ſet up, than it gave Offence to the People of *Bologna*, who very often deſired to know whether it was to Bleſs or to Curſe them, that this terrible Statue ſtretched out its hand towards Heaven; either for one or t'other, ſaid the *Pope*, when he heard how the People were muttering, according to the behavior of the *Bolonois*, ſo ſhall they be rewarded and puniſh'd.

The News of the loſs of *Bologna*, ſtruck *Pope Julius* the 2*d* to the Heart, this being the ſecond Town of the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, that he valued himſelf for having reunited. He endeavour'd to comfort himſelf under this Diſaſter, by projecting new Schemes of War with the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, but the grief he had conceiv'd for his late Misfortunes, had not left off

tormenting him, when there happen'd an Accident in his own Court enough to diſtract him quite. The Cardinal of *Pavia* had come to *Ravenna* to juſtify himſelf to his Holineſs, and to declare himſelf from the malicious Report that was ſpread of him, as if the loſs of *Bologna* were owing either to his Negligence, or his Treachery. The *Pope* had before fully juſtified him in his own mind, becauſe upon the firſt News of that Event, he had concluded the Cardinal more guilty than really he could be; He therefore ſent him word, that he would give him Audience ſo ſoon as they had dined together: The Duke of *Urbino*, the *Pope*'s Nephew, having waylaid the Cardinal, as he was going to the *Pope*, fell upon him, and killed him with his own Hand, with a Dagger. Hiſtorians ſay, that this Prince was hurry'd on to commit this horrid Murder by Ambition; which is as able to puſh on thoſe who are Slaves to it to the greateſt exceſſes of Revenge, againſt thoſe whom they look upon as their Rivals, as any other Paſſion how violent ſoever.

Such was the Grief that ſeiz'd the *Pope* upon the News of this Aſſaſſination, that he could not forbear, expreſſing it by unaffected Cries and Tears, he had loſt a Man in whom he intirely confided, and who was intirely devoted to his Service, and at a time when he had the greateſt occaſion for faithful Servants, and what troubled him ſtill more, was, that he could not avenge the Murther, ſince it was his own Nephew that had committed it. There were thoſe however at that time, who were inclin'd to believe, that *Julius* the 2*d* being perſwaded of the Cardinal of *Pavia*'s Treachery, had puſh'd the Duke of *Urbino* on to aſſaſſinate him; whatever truth there may be in this, we find the *Pope* charg'd him

him with it in a Dialogue between St. *Peter* and *Julius* the 2*d*, that was publiſh'd immediately after this *Pope*'s Death, as thoſe pretend, who has made the Collection of the *Politica Imperiali* of *Goldaſt*; but this Dialogue, ſuppoſing it publiſh'd at that time, deſerves no Credit; and the contemporary Authors ſpeak of it with Indignation and Contempt; *Eraſmus* who was thought to be the Author of it, becauſe of ſome former ſtrokes of his cenſorious Pen againſt the Court of *Rome*, diſown'd it, even with Execration, and wonder'd how any one could ſo far impoſe upon himſelf, as to think there was any thing of his Stile in it. *He who wrote it*, ſays *Eraſmus*, in the 1ſt Epiſtle of his Ninth Book, *deſerves to be put into* Bedlam, *and he that publiſhed it ought to be hang'd.* This Satyr, upon which the moſt venemous Writings of the laſt Age, have not been able to refine, in point of Malignity, ſufficiently bars all manner of Credit, by the hateful character of Rage and Fury that is imprinted on it; beſides, the Crime we have been ſpeaking of, being ſuch as none but an abandon'd Wretch could be guilty of, does not at all agree with the character of *Julius* the 2*d*. This *Pope*, 'tis true, was a Man of a violent Temper, but not chargeable with ſuch blackneſs and littleneſs of Spirit; and as he was not capable of giving any ſuch cruel Orders, ſo neither would he have been able to contain his Joy, when he ſaw them executed to his mind. Had *Julius* been perſwaded of the Cardinal of *Pavia*'s Treachery, his natural Temper would have obliged him to take him off as his Judge, and not as his Aſſaſſin; and as the *Pope* was his Maſter, ſo he would have order'd the common Executioner to do Juſtice upon him. *Julius* the 2*d* was accuſtomed to overlook Conſiderations much more powerful, than thoſe

which could be ſuppoſed to reſtrain and hinder him from doing himſelf Juſtice in a ſignal Manner; which was a thing that afforded him no ſmall ſatisfaction in his Proſperity.

The murder of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, made his abode at *Ravenna* inſupportable to him, and therefore after a very ſhort ſtay there, he returned to *Rome*. To compleat his Affliction, he had the mortification as he went through *Rimini*, to ſee a *Placard* ſet up, intimating the calling of a General Council, that was to be held at *Piſa* in the Month of *September* following.

When the Biſhop of *Gurck* left *Bologna*, he went directly to *Milan*, where after ſome Diſcourſe with the Malecontent Cardinal, it was agreed between them and him, in concert with the Miniſters of *Lewis* the 12*th*, that there ſhould be a General Council held at *Piſa*, in the Month of *September* following. *Piſa* was a neutral Town, and therefore the *Pope* could not with any reaſon alledge any ground of ſuſpition of it. It was not without difficulty, that the *Florentines*, who were Lords of *Piſa*, conſented to the holding of a General Council there; and therefore they were obliged to engage ſolemnly not to ſuffer any the leaſt Violence to be done to any Perſon, that ſhould come there to aſſiſt at the Seſſions of the Council; beſides, the good ſucceſs of Councils that had been formerly held in *Piſa*, made that Town a happy Omen. *Piſa* gave a name to that Aſſembly, that is call'd the *Council of Piſa*, which ought to make all Chriſtians entertain a particular favour and reſpect for it. So ſoon as this Council was reſolved on at *Milan*, the Writs for Aſſembling it were diſperſed over all Chriſtendom.

There were two Writs publiſh'd for the calling of this Aſſembly, one in the Name of the Emperor,

peror, and the moſt Chriſtian King; and the other in the Name of the Male-content Cardinals, who had retired to *Milan*. Theſe Deeds, which bear date on the 16*th* Day of *May*, and which, contain almoſt the very ſame things, declare, that the deſign of thoſe who call'd the Council, was to reform the Church, both in its Head and in its Members; and to puniſh thoſe notorious Crimes which had been committed by obſtinate and incorrigible Perſons, for a long time, to the great ſcandal of the Univerſal Church. The Rank, thoſe who call'd this Council, held in the Church, as its principal Members and Protectors, gave a ſufficient Title to do it, as thoſe Writs ſay, conſidering what neceſſity there was to hold thoſe auguſt Aſſemblies from time to time, ſince there was no ground to hope that the *Pope* would ever call one. The Council of *Conſtance* being ſenſible of this Neceſſity, did by a Decree ordain, That ten years after the Diſſolution of one Council, another ſhould meet: This Term had been long expir'd, and it was much more than ten years ſince there had been a General Council held. *Julius* the 2*d* had not only neglected to call one, but he had likewiſe often eluded the Motions that were made for holding one, and had even broke all the Promiſes he had made with regard to this Matter. The *Pope* himſelf was ſummon'd to appear at the Council of *Piſa*, and that in a ſtrain high enough, tho' very reſpectful. This is the Sum and Subſtance of thoſe Deeds, but for thoſe that have the curioſity to read them, they may find them, with ſeveral other Pieces relating to the Council of *Piſa*, in the firſt Volum of the Conſtitutions of *Goldaſt*. It is not the part of an Hiſtorian to determine, whether *Maximilian* and *Lewis* the 12*th*, did well in calling this Council or not; however

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ver that might be, if they were in a fault, the blame muſt lie at *Julius* the 2*d*'s Door: By the Excommunications he had thundered out, in a quarrel where neither Points of Religion, nor the preſervation of the Rights and Dominions of the Church were concern'd, but which had been rais'd meerly for aſſerting Temporal Intereſts, he ſhow'd them how dangerous a thing it was to intereſs Religion, and to employ his Spiritual Arms, where thoſe had nothing to do; but if *Julius*'s Quarrel had been founded on Juſtice, he ought to have endeavour'd to redreſs himſelf by ſuch means, as are allowable to all Sovereign Princes.

On the other hand, *Lewis* the 12*th* ſhow'd the greateſt Conduct, as well as a true Chriſtian Spirit, on this occaſion. Upon the firſt News he receiv'd of the defeat of the *Pope*'s Army, he iſſued out Orders over all his Dominions, ſtrictly forbidding all thoſe expreſſions of publick Joy, which are uſual for Victories obtain'd over an Enemy. He declared on ſeveral Occaſions, and before all the World, that though the blame of the Quarrels that were then between him and the Court of *Rome*, was not to be charged on him, yet that he was heartily griev'd for the Advantages he had got over the *Pope*, and that he was fully diſpoſed to proſtrate himſelf at his Holineſſes Feet, provided his Humiliation could procure the Tranquility of Chriſtendom. He ſtedfaſtly perſiſted in this Purpoſe and Reſolution, and expreſs'd the ſincerity of his Heart, by calling to Witneſs the adorable Name of the God of Arms, and ſwearing by the moſt ſolemn Feaſts that are celebrated in Honour of him; nor were Words the only proofs of his Sincerity, for he plainly ſhow'd by his Actions, that he had ſaid nothing but what he firmly purpoſed to

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perform. The Orders he ſent to his General *Trivulze*, were more mild and moderate, than any of *Julius*'s Courtiers durſt venture to promiſe his Holineſs they would be; we have told already, that the moſt Chriſtian King not only enjoin'd his General to forbear all Acts of Hoſtility againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, but that he likewiſe ordered him to march back the *French* Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*. The more proſperous this Warlike Prince, who never eſpous'd an unjuſt Cauſe, was, the more Clemency he ſhow'd his Enemies; but on the other hand, no Adverſity could oblige the other, for all his humble Names and Title, to abate any thing of his Haughtineſs and Pride, or to ſhow any Marks of remorſe for his many Injuſtices.

One may eaſily believe, that the King of *France*, in the Diſpoſition he then was, liſten'd very readily to the Overtures of Accommodation that the *Pope* cauſed make him by the Ambaſſador of *Scotland*. He immediately ſent to *Rome*, a Perſon he put great confidence in, to hear ſuch Propoſals as the *Pope* would make; but ſo it was, that the more Deference and Reſpect the moſt Chriſtian King ſhow'd the *Pope*, the more inſolent he grew: He was too much puffed up by the meaſures that were obſerv'd with him, and by the Condeſcention that was ſhow'd him, in his low Circumſtances, to propoſe any Conditions that were tolerably reaſonable. In the mean time, *Trivulze*, in obedience to his Maſter's Orders, had march'd back the *French* Army into the *Milaneze*, and had disbanded his Infantry. The *Bontivogli* being Creatures of *Lewis* the 12*th*. conform'd themſelves in every thing to the mind of their Patron; ſo far were they from committing any Hoſtilities on the Eccleſiaſtical Dominions, that they implored the favour of the

the *Pope*, in as ſubmiſſive Terms, as if the Keys of their Native Country had been ſtill in his Hands. Thoſe Lords made an offer to his Holineſs, to own and acknowledge him for their Lord Paramount, and to hold the Fief of *Bologna* of him, in the ſame manner as their Anceſtors had held it of his Predeceſſors.

When it was mov'd that the Negotiation ſhould be ſet on foot, which the Ambaſſador of *Scotland* had propos'd, *Julius* the 2*d* propos'd ſuch Conditions as ſeem'd rather to come from an enrag'd Conqueror, than from a vanquiſh'd and humbled Prince. His Holineſs demanded that the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould yield up the points that were in diſpute between them; that he ſhould pay the ancient Acknowledgment of ten thouſand Crowns of Gold. That the Duke ſhould admit into his Capital City, an Officer who ſhould adminiſter Juſtice in the *Pope*'s Name, in all affairs where their immediate Subjects ſhould be concern'd; upon the ſame Terms that the *Venetian Vidame* had been receiv'd there before the beginning of the preſent War. Finally, that the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould be oblig'd to make a Donation to the Church of certain Lands that he poſſeſs'd in *Romagna*, as a private Perſon. *Julius* the 2*d* reſerv'd likewiſe a power to himſelf to add to theſe firſt *Preliminary* Propoſitions, what other Demands he ſhould think fit; his deſign was, not to be taken at his Word, but always to keep it in his power to continue or break off the Negotiation, as he ſhould find it convenient. He would not come to any Reſolution, either for Peace or War, till ſuch time as he ſhould know, how far the Catholick King would engage in his Quarrel: So ſoon as he was aſſur'd that that Prince would eſpouſe his Intereſt without reſerve, he made the Demands which he had reſerved a power to himſelf, to make

make in his Preliminary Propoſitions; his chief deſign being to break off the Negotiation, thoſe further Demands of his were ſo very exorbitant, that it was impoſſible to treat on that foot. The only anſwer *France* could make to the *Pope's* Demands, was a poſitive and flat Denial: His Holineſs inſiſted on the Duke of *Ferrara*'s paying all the Charges of the War, and that *Lewis* the 12*th* ſhould abandon the *Bentivogli*. That the ſeverity of his Proceedings might correſpond with the inſolence of his Words, he Excommunicated the *Bentivogli*, and ſent *Colonna* at the Head of his ſhatter'd Army, which *Trivulze*'s negligence had given him time to reaſſemble, to harraſs the Territories of *Bologna*, notwithſtanding that from the time of the Revolution, thoſe Dominions had been in a ſtate of Truce, or a ceſſation of Arms. *Colonna* ſoon found himſelf oblig'd to retire, and all the effect his Expedition had, was to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the *Pope*'s Character.

*Lewis* the 12*th* therefore, notwithſtanding his good Intentions for procuring a Peace, was forced to continue the War. In this neceſſity the Emperor's Friendſhip was abſolutely neceſſary to him, the better to engage this Prince not to refuſe it him, though there was no Obligation on him to lend him his Army to continue the War the Emperor was engag'd in with the *Venetians*, yet he ſent it to his Aſſiſtance, under the Command of *La Paliſſe*, who of all the *French* Officers, was moſt in the Emperor's favour at that time. *Lewis* the 12*th* had given the Office of Grand Maitre to *la Paliſſe*, upon the Death of *Chaumont*, and he kept it till *Francis* the 1*ſt*'s time, who oblig'd him to demit in favour of *Boiſſa*, and gave him the Battoon of a Marſhal of *France* in exchange for it.

*Maximilian*

*Maximilian* was at this time at *Inſprunck*, at once full of vaſt Projects, and great Irreſolution. Sometimes he would go to *Rome* to make himſelf really Sovereign of the *Romans*; ſometimes he was for compleating his Conqueſts in the *Terra Firma*, before he undertook that Expedition. Whatever Reſolutions he took, the ill Condition his Finances were in, made it impoſſible for him to execute them; the only one of all his Projects that he put in execution, was to demand new Succors from *Lewis* the *12th*. Thoſe Demands always involved the moſt Chriſtian King in new Troubles; by granting them, he knew he ſhould drain his Coffers, and by refuſing them, he was ſure that *Maximilian*, who was of all Princes the readieſt to take ſudden Meaſures, would, to the ruin of the affairs of *France*, ſtrike up an Accommodation, in one day, with its moſt irreconcileable Enemies. If on the other hand, we reflect on the Jarrs that were then between the *Pope* and the King of *Arragon*, a natural, but diſmal Conſequence of the League of *Cambray*, we muſt needs confeſs, that the *Venetians* judged very right, when they laid it down as a Principle, that it was not the intereſt of the Princes to ſign that League, and that they failed in their Judgment, when they concluded from that Principle, that thoſe Princes would never ſign it.

*FINIS.*

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## ERRATA *to the Second Part.*

PAge 5 l. 32 r. *Prelates*, P. 7 l. 5 r. *Powers*, P. 8 l. 35 r. *Treaties*, P. 14 l. 23 r. *Men at Arms*, P. 18 l. 26 r. *did not*, P. 27. l. 21 *dele the*, P. 28 l. 8 r. *Treaties*, P. 84 l. 15 r. *Pretenſion*, P. 85 l. 33 r. *widely*, P. 87 l. 16 r. *Inveſtèe*, P. 94 l. 29 r. *Scala's*, P. 95 l. 4 r. *after* as *add* to, P. 98 l. 10 *after queſtion add*, P. 101 l. 13 r. *they had*, P. 104 l. 4 r. *too nimble*.